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GOVERNOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT

HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE

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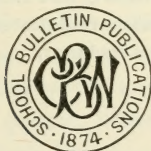
HIGH SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

AND FOR

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

BY

WILLIAM REED PRENTICE, A.M.



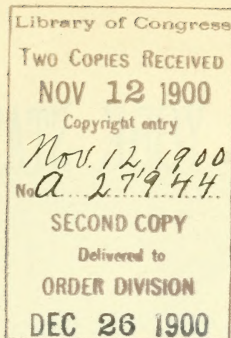
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

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1900

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ERRATA

The following errors have been corrected in the plates since this first edition was printed.

Page 124, 6th line, for Torbay read Tor Bay.

Page 134, 14th line, for Domine read Dominie.

24th line, for Iroqouis read Iroquois.

Page 150, 13th line, for Iroqouis read Iroquois.

Page 152, 8th line, for DeLancy read DeLancey.

Page 153, 30th line, for Gouverneur read Gouverneur.

Page 197, 28th line, for Livingstone read Livingston.

Page 215, 9th line, for McDougal read McDougall.

Page 369, 17th line, for Onondaga read Oneida.

Page 426, last line, for Thomas C. read Thomas S.

Page 437, 16th line, for Reubene read Reuben E.

Page 525, 5th line, for Carey read Cary.

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PREFACE

While every citizen should have a general knowledge of the history of the State in which he lives, there are special reasons why this is true of those who dwell in any one of the thirteen original States. Theirs is the history of our country, of the formation of our government, of the development of those institutions which every American loves. They are the parent States from whose union were begotten the whole sisterhood of the nation.

The American can point to no temples hoary with age. He has no heritage of storied castles where his ancestors "banqueted", and from which they "rode away to the Crusades". But he is a dweller in a land exceedingly rich in the triumphs of a race which, in possession of a broad, undeveloped land, with a unique destiny before it, has worked out that destiny in its own way, giving to the world an example of what may be done by a proud people, unfettered by kingly rule.

In all this New York has borne a most honorable and important part.

Moreover, there is in her case an additional reason for the study of State history. Within an area of only 49,170 square miles there is a vast foreign-born population such as few other States possess. The children of these, educated in her free public schools,

are entitled to a share in that honorable history which in so many native-born families has been handed down from father to son from revolutionary times.

For all these young men and women, whether native or foreign-born, future citizens of the State, this book has been written, in the hope that it will help them to know, and so to love, the great State in which it is their good fortune to have a home.

One embarrassment meets every one who attempts to write a *brief* history of New York. The amount of material is so vast, and so much of it is of intense interest, that it is difficult to select.

It is not easy to draw the line between the record of events which are essential and those which are only of interest; to follow the golden mean between a dry catalogue of facts and dates, and that discussion of events which is necessary to a proper understanding of their relation;—in short, to produce a work which shall be both of use and of interest.

Another difficulty has seemed entirely insurmountable,—the rapid appearance and disappearance of New York's forty-eight English governors, lieutenant-governors and "acting governors", in a period of one hundred and eleven years. Many of them seem to have left no distinct mark on the colony. In fact few of the governors sent over by the English crown served any useful purpose here other than as mile-stones marking the progress of the people toward independence. To leave these governors out of the story of New York would be like leaving "Doubting Castle" and "Giant Despair" out of "Pilgrim's Progress".

Through the record of the petty doings of these men runs like a silver thread the story of the people who revered law but detested tyranny; who could patiently endure privation and want, but rebelled when wronged; who over and over again proved their loyalty to England, but held their rights as men above all price.

Nothing places in such grand relief the towering intellects of the men whom the colony produced,—men who finally guided its fortunes into Statehood,—as their comparison with the creatures whom England sent over to govern them.

In the appended list of reference books the teacher or general reader will find an invaluable fund of related matter, much of it in a most attractive form.

Brief summaries have been added that pupils may be able to distinguish and recall readily the more important facts and dates.

The number of portraits is 182, and includes those of all the presidents of the United States and of all the elected governors of New York. It is believed that to insert these in the text where the individual is most prominently mentioned is of considerable importance; and that it is a help to the memory to give with the picture the dates of birth and death, and in the case of presidents and governors, of official service. Of the twelve maps, the four printed in colors are taken by permission from the 1900 edition of Northam's Civil Government of New York.

USEFUL BOOKS FOR REFERENCE

The following may be found in almost any good public library.

Histories of the State of New York by Brodhead, Dunlap, Eastman, Ellis, Hendrick, Lossing, Macauley, Randall, and Smith.

Histories of the City of New York by Mary L. Booth and by Martha J. Lamb.

American Commonwealth Series, New York, Ellis H. Roberts.

American Conflict, Horace Greeley.

American Politics, Alexander Johnson.

Antiquities of New York, E. G. Squire.

Boundaries of New York, Regents of University.

Century in Comptroller's Office, James A. Roberts.

Colonial Laws of New York.

Colonial History of New York.

Constitutional History of New York, Edgar A. Werner.

Documentary History of New York.

History of the American People, McMaster.

New York Civil List.

Political History of New York, Jabez D. Hammond.

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GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK

COLONIAL—DUTCH PERIOD

Cornelius Jacobsen May.....	1624
William Verhulst.....	1625
Peter Minuit.....	May 4, 1626
Walter (or Wouter) Van Twiller.....	April, 1633
William Kieft.....	March 28, 1638
Peter Stuyvesant.....	May 11, 1647

ENGLISH PERIOD

Richard Nicolls.....	Sept. 8, 1664
Col. Francis Lovelace.....	Aug. 17, 1667
Anthony Colve (Dutch).....	Sept. 19, 1673
Sir Edmund Andros.....	Nov. 10, 1674
Anthony Brockholles ¹	Nov. 16, 1677
Sir Edmund Andros.....	Aug. 7, 1678
Anthony Brockholles ¹	Jan. 13, 1681
Col. Thomas Dongan.....	Aug. 27, 1682
Sir Edmund Andros.....	Aug. 11, 1688
Francis Nicholson ²	Oct. 9, 1688
Jacob Leisler.....	June 3, 1689
Col. Henry Sloughter.....	March 19, 1691
Maj. Richard Ingoldsby ¹	July 26, 1691
Col. Benjamin Fletcher.....	Aug. 30, 1692
Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont.....	April 13, 1698

John Nanfan ²	May 17, 1699
Earl of Bellomont.....	July 24, 1700
W. Smith, Eldest Councillor present ³ ...	March 5, 1701
John Nanfan.....	May 19, 1701
Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury.....	May 3, 1702
John, Lord Lovelace.....	Dec. 18, 1708
Peter Schuyler ³	May 6, 1709
Richard Ingoldsby ²	May 9, 1709
Peter Schuyler ³	May 25, 1709
Richard Ingoldsby ²	June 1, 1709
Gerardus Beeckman ³	April 10, 1710
Brig. Gen. Robert Hunter.....	June 14, 1710
Peter Schuyler ³	July 21, 1719
William Burnet.....	Sept. 17, 1720
John Montgomerie.....	April 15, 1728
Rip Van Dam ³	July 1, 1731
Col. William Cosby.....	Aug. 1, 1732
George Clarke ³	March 10, 1736
George Clarke ²	Oct. 13, 1736
Sir George Clinton.....	Sept. 2, 1743
Sir Danvers Osborn, baronet.....	Oct. 10, 1753
James De Lancey ²	Oct. 12, 1753
Sir Charles Hardy.....	Sept. 3, 1755
James De Lancey ²	June 3, 1757
Cadwallader Colden ³	Aug. 4, 1760
Cadwallader Colden ²	Aug. 8, 1761
Robert Monckton.....	Oct. 26, 1761
Cadwallader Colden.....	Nov. 18, 1761
Robert Monckton.....	June 14, 1762
Cadwallader Colden ²	June 28, 1763
Sir Henry Moore.....	Nov. 13, 1765
Cadwallader Colden ²	Sept. 12, 1769

Earl of Dunmore (John Murray).....	Oct. 19, 1770
William Tryon.....	July 9, 1771
Cadwallader Colden ²	April 7, 1774
William Tryon.....	June 28, 1775
James Robertson ⁴	March 23, 1780
Andrew Elliott ²	April 17, 1783

The last two served during the occupation of New York city by the British.

PRESIDENTS OF PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

Philip Livingston.....	April 20, 1775
Peter Van Brugh Livingston.....	May 23, 1775
Nathaniel Woodhull ⁵	Aug. 28, 1775
Abraham Yates, Jr. ⁵	Nov. 2, 1775
Nathan Woodhull.....	Dec. 6, 1775
John Haring ⁵	Dec. 16, 1775
Abraham Yates, Jr. ⁵	Aug. 10, 1776
Abraham Yates, Jr. ⁵	Aug. 28, 1776
Peter R. Livingston.....	Sept. 26, 1776
Abraham Ten Broeck.....	March 6, 1777
Leonard Gansevoort ⁵	April 18, 1777
Pierre Van Cortlandt ⁶	May 14, 1777

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE

George Clinton.....	July 30, 1777
John Jay.....	July 1, 1795
George Clinton.....	1801
Morgan Lewis.....	1804
Daniel D. Tompkins.....	1807
John Taylor ⁷	March, 1817
DeWitt Clinton.....	July 1, 1817
Joseph C. Yates.....	Jan. 1, 1823
DeWitt Clinton.....	Jan. 1, 1825

Nathaniel Pitcher ⁷	Feb. 11, 1828
Martin Van Buren.....	1829
Enos T. Throop ⁷	March 12, 1829
Enos T. Throop.....	Jan. 1, 1831
William L. Marcy.....	Jan. 1, 1833
William H. Seward.....	Jan. 1, 1839
William C. Bouck.....	Jan. 1, 1843
Silas Wright.....	Jan. 1, 1845
John Young.....	Jan. 1, 1847
Hamilton Fish.....	Jan. 1, 1849
Washington Hunt.....	Jan. 1, 1851
Horatio Seymour.....	Jan. 1, 1853
Myron H. Clark.....	Jan. 1, 1855
John A. King.....	Jan. 1, 1857
Edwin D. Morgan.....	Jan. 1, 1859
Horatio Seymour.....	Jan. 1, 1863
Reuben E. Fenton.....	Jan. 1, 1865
John T. Hoffman.....	Jan. 1, 1869
John Adams Dix.....	Jan. 1, 1873
Samuel J. Tilden.....	Jan. 1, 1875
Lucius Robinson.....	Jan. 1, 1877
Alonzo B. Cornell.....	Jan. 1, 1880
Grover Cleveland.....	Jan. 1, 1883
David B. Hill.....	Jan. 1, 1886
Roswell P. Flower.....	Jan. 1, 1892
Levi P. Morton.....	Jan. 1, 1895
Frank S. Black.....	Jan. 1, 1897
Theodore Roosevelt.....	Jan. 1, 1899

¹Commander-in-chief; ²lieutenant-governor; ³president of council; ⁴military governor; ⁵president pro tem; ⁶president of council of safety; ⁷lieutenant-governor and acting governor.

PERIOD I

BEFORE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

CHAPTER I

ABORIGINES OF NEW YORK

No history of the Empire State can profitably omit an account of that remarkable people who were its sole inhabitants when the first white man came to our shores. They had much to do with the early history of our State and nation; they have left their names sown broadcast over almost every county in New York, while their traditions have inspired much of our finest literature.

The Iroquois.—Interest naturally centers around that unique confederacy, or republic, which occupied the central portion of the State. How long it had existed will never be ascertained, for, until Champlain penetrated the mountain fastnesses of the American Switzerland, it was unknown to the outside world. The name, “Iroquois Confederacy” (sometimes Huron-Iroquois) was given by the French settlers on the St. Lawrence to the confederate tribes of New York. They called themselves Ko-no-shi-oni, the “Cabin Builders”, also Ho-de-no-sau-nee, “Dwellers in Long Houses”. They are often called the “Five

Nations'', from the five principal tribes which were united in the confederacy: the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas. In fact there were six nations, as the Tuscaroras, a small kindred tribe that had at an early day removed to North Carolina, rejoined them in 1712*.

This confederacy of the five most advanced Indian tribes in the new world was formed solely for mutual protection against invasion by the powerful, because numerous, Algonquins, who virtually surrounded and sought to drive them from their coveted hunting-grounds.

The league was essentially a republic. Merit alone could secure office, and that merit was able leadership and prowess in battle.

Each "nation" was divided into tribes or cantons, and from these a council was chosen. The president, or grand chief, might come from any tribe in any nation. There were fifty permanent sachem chiefs. To the Mohawks were allotted nine, to the Oneidas nine, to the Onondagas fourteen, to the Cayugas ten, to the Senecas eight. The Onondagas were the real founders of the confederation†.

Government.—The military power stood before the civil. The army was composed of volunteers, though every able-bodied man was a soldier, and any one who shirked his duty or failed to face any danger when called upon was forever disgraced. Behind the coun-

*The Tuscaroras did not subsequently maintain distinct tribal relations.

† Hiawatha was an Onondaga Indian.

cil of the chiefs was the voice of the soldiery, and their consent was necessary before any great enterprise could be undertaken.

The matrons also sat in council, and could veto any war measure, yet they tilled the small fields on the margins of the lakes and rivers, and did all the drudgery of the family.

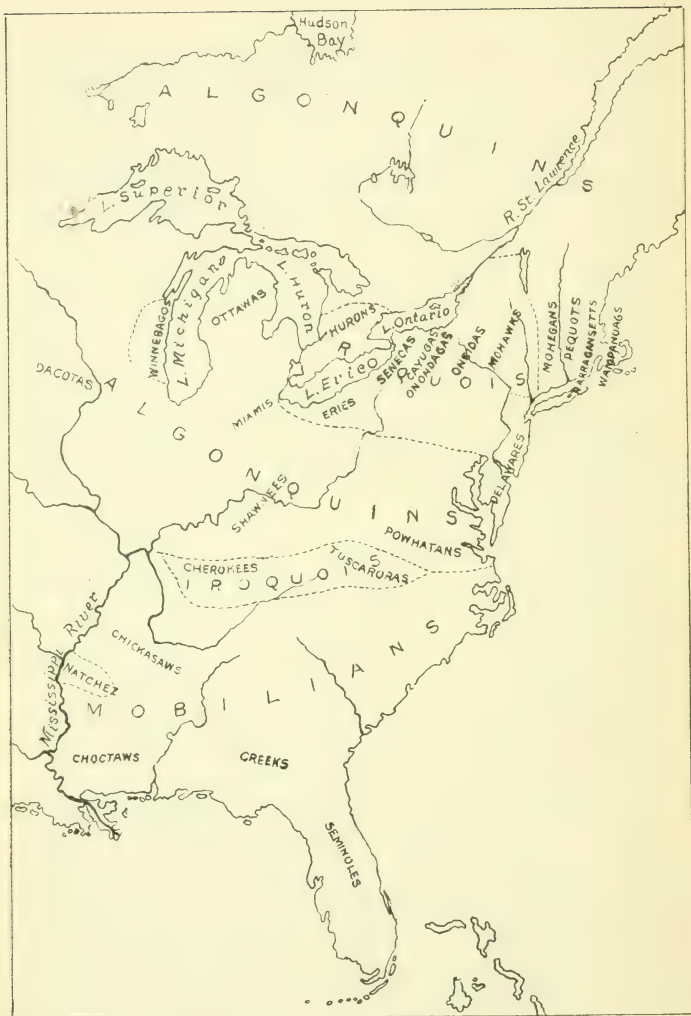
Slavery was unknown among them, and captives might become members of the tribes among which they dwelt.

Location and boundaries.—When first visited by Champlain, the Iroquois inhabited chiefly the sheltered valleys and level uplands of Central New York. Particularly did they love the region of the Mohawk valley and the lesser lakes.

The Mohawks lived to the eastward, and were said to keep the “eastern door”; the Senecas were at the extreme west, and kept the “western door”; while it was the duty of the Onondagas to keep the “central fire” burning*.

The territory claimed by the Iroquois may be roughly outlined as that embraced between Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence and Adirondacks on the north, the upper Hudson and Catskill mountains on the east, the present State of Pennsylvania on the south, and Lake Erie and the Niagara river on the west. Beyond these borders, particularly to the westward, they frequently carried war, and, but for the coming of the white race, it is quite probable that in time their confederacy

* The seat of the Onondagas is still in the present county of Onondaga, eight miles south of Syracuse.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE LEADING INDIAN TRIBES

would have embraced the Eries, the Miamis, and other western tribes.

Civilization.—Their civilization was of the primitive sort usually found among tribes who live by the chase. They knew little of agriculture; indeed where fish and game were so plentiful, it was hardly necessary to till the soil.

Their dwellings were the rudest kind of huts, their cooking utensils limited to a few unbaked clay dishes, and their small supply of corn was pounded in stone, or even wooden, mortars.

In all these matters the Iroquois differed little from the tribes that surrounded them. These belonged to the great Algonquin family, which covered Canada and extended along the coast from the Strait of Belle Isle to the Savannah river.

Among these tribes came the French, who, by intermarrying and adopting their customs, soon acquired a great influence over them.

Between the Algonquins and the Iroquois a state of continual warfare existed. The forays over the border were numerous and bloody, and when the French first made an invasion into the Iroquois territory with the Algonquins, the seeds of a hatred which bore fruit in after years had been sown. From that time the Iroquois held the French in the same bitter dislike that they had for the Algonquins.

The Dutch, aware of this feeling, used it to their own advantage, and to this alone is attributable the fact that the English were able for so many years to hold the Iroquois as allies against the encroachments of the French on the north. In this also may be

found the reason for the sufferings of the Jesuit missionaries at the hands of the Iroquois and for the small results they were able to accomplish.

Neighboring tribes.—To the Algonquins belonged the numerous small tribes with which the Dutch first came in contact and against which they finally waged a war of extermination.

Lacking the inter-tribal organization of the Iroquois, they fell an easy prey to the rapacity of the traders; and when war finally came they had been so weakened by the vices inseparable from the frontier that as a disturbing element they soon disappeared entirely.

Two tribes on the Hudson river, the Mohegans on the east and the Mincees on the west, also belonged to the Algonquins, but they were united in one thing only,—hatred for the Iroquois.

On Long Island were several tribes, the chief one, the Metowacks, dwelling to the west end of the island. The Manhattans, a feeble tribe living on Manhattan Island, gave to it their name.

Character of Indians.—The general character of all these Indians, particularly of the Iroquois, has been well portrayed by F. S. Eastman in the following language:

“ They were quick of apprehension and not wanting in genius. At times they were friendly, even courteous. In council they were distinguished for gravity and eloquence, in war for bravery and contempt for danger. When provoked to anger they were sullen and retired, and when determined upon revenge, no danger could deter them, nor absence or time cool them. If cap-

tured by an enemy, they never asked for life, nor would they betray emotions of fear in view of the tomahawk or the kindling fagot."

The Iroquois brave, like all American Indians, was a silent, gloomy, unsocial man. He preferred the trackless forest to his wigwam. He was superstitious and vain. He did not, as is so commonly supposed, believe in one Great Spirit; he was not a monotheist; he believed in one spirit greater than all others. He was a pantheist, and saw and heard his divinities in every manifestation of nature about him. With the savage courage of the wild beast he combined the timidity of the hare. He feared every thing, for all he suffered was the work of some enemy. He believed in a hereafter, and he peopled it not with those who had been his friends and dependents here, not even with wife or child, so much as with those creatures which had in some way ministered to his necessities. His heaven was a "Happy Hunting Ground", where roamed the game he loved best to follow; a place where the warm sun shone and clear streams flowed through green valleys; a place where he should be happy because free from cold and hunger. His vanity required that the gaudy trinkets he so dearly loved in this world should go to his grave with the weapons he had needed here.

The position of the Iroquois, surrounded as they were by hostile tribes, undoubtedly drove them to the organization which they had developed; while the fertile soil and prolific hunting grounds of New York saved them from the frequent ravages of famine that decimated other tribes less fortunately situated.

To the philanthropist it seems particularly unfortunate that the Iroquois, by taking side with the English in the Revolutionary struggles were finally estranged from the white men who dwelt among them, and were thus, in a few years reduced to a bare remnant; but the student of history observes that only by the yielding of a weaker civilization to the stronger, because the more advanced, has the world developed from the barbarism of the dark ages to the enlightenment of the nineteenth century. It is the same story, old as the world, that the new displaces the old, but rarely builds upon it.

Reservations.—At the close of the Revolution the Mohawks removed to Canada, and in 1797 sold all their claims for \$1,600. The lands of the others were gradually purchased and the remnants of the tribes located on reservations of which there are now in the State seven. The Onondaga (3) reservation contains 6,100 acres; the Tonawanda-Seneca (2) 8,000 acres; the Allegany-Senecas (7) 30,469 acres; the Shinnecock (5) 640 acres; the Cattaraugus-Senecas (6) 21,680 acres; the St. Regis (4) 14,640 acres*; the Tuscaroras (1) 6,249 acres. Of the Oneidas remaining a part live near Green Bay, Wis., and a part are “guests” of the Onondagas and other tribes. The Cayugas are scattered among the different tribes, the larger part living with the Senecas at Cattaraugus.

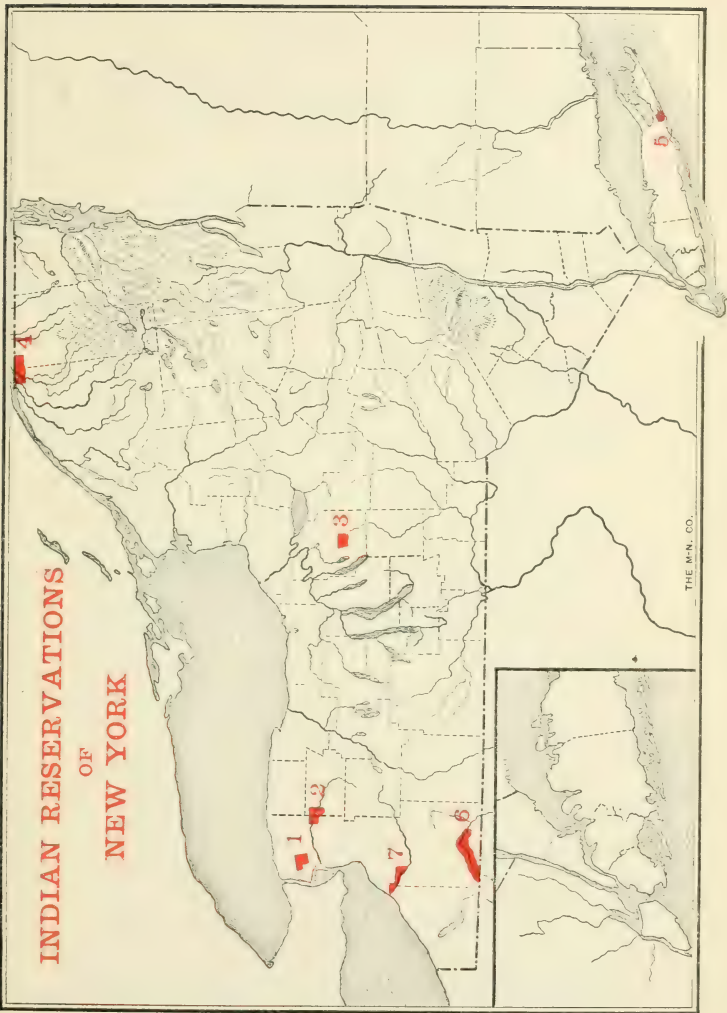
The number of Indians in the State in 1890 was

*These entered the league after the Revolution taking the place of the Mohawks.

INDIAN RESERVATIONS

OF

NEW YORK



5,133, of whom nearly 3,000 could not speak English. They have 12 churches and 30 schools, and they furnished 162 soldiers and sailors in the War of the Rebellion.

In July, 1898, at the annual Convocation of the Regents of the University of New York, the very valuable collection of wampums in the possession of the Indian chiefs was formally turned over to the State for preservation, and will hereafter be carefully preserved in the capitol at Albany.

SUMMARY.—THE ABORIGINES OF NEW YORK

1. Reasons for interest in.
2. Tribes in Iroquois Confederation; origin of name.
3. Nature of their union.
4. Location of tribes and character of each.
5. Their government.
6. Their dwellings and manner of life.
7. The Algonquins and lesser tribes.
8. Relation of each to early colonists.
9. Character of Indians.
10. Indian reservations.

PERIOD II

CHAPTER II

EXPLORATIONS, 1496-1614

Europe's interest in the new world.—While other nations had heard of, half believed, but hesitated, to Spain must be given the supreme honor of being the first to accept and act upon the magnificent conceptions of Columbus.

Portugal, from having discovered and explored the Azores, claimed everything to the west of them. According to the custom of the times the dispute was referred to the Pope, and Alexander VI very benevolently gave to Spain "all those heathen lands found or to be discovered to the westward of a meridian one hundred leagues westward of the Azores". The news of the great discovery, the interest created by the controversy over it, aroused the maritime spirit of all Europe. The grandiloquent Spaniard was not to be left in undisputed possession of one-half the earth. The Pope's decision bound no one, and English, Dutch, Spanish, and French were soon in violent competition for the empire of the west.

Voyages of the Cabots, 1496.—On the 5th of May, 1496, Henry VII of England commissioned John Cabot, a Venetian, to carry the English flag and make explorations in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, and to

take possession of all lands, whether islands or continents, discovered in the name of Great Britain. John Cabot was well qualified for the great work entrusted to him.

On the 24th of June (1496), Cabot first saw the gloomy headlands of Labrador, and this was the actual discovery of the American continent. He explored the coast for several hundred miles, saw no inhabitants, but went ashore and, taking possession in the name of the king of England, he raised, side by side, the flags of England and Venice*.

Like Columbus, he supposed he had reached the shores of Asia. John Cabot returned to England, and was honored for his enterprise, but beyond this we know nothing of him.

Sebastian Cabot, 1498.—The next record of English discovery speaks of Sebastian, the second son of John Cabot, who, in 1498, with a squadron of well armed vessels followed the course of his father. West of Greenland he encountered ice and turned his course to the south. He traced the shores of the New England and Middle States and sailed



SEBASTIAN CABOT, 1477-1557

as far as Cape Hatteras, from which point he began his homeward voyage.

The voyages of the Cabots were later supplemented

* This was more than one year before Columbus saw the mainland of South America.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, 1540-1596

by those of Frobisher. Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh and others. On these voyages and discoveries England based her claim to territory in America. In the charters she granted, in the colonies she sent out, and in her disputes with other nations, England steadfastly maintained her right to all the mainland as the result of these explorations.

Verrazano, 1524.—In 1524 Francis I of France,



GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO, 1480-1527

not ignorant of the importance of giving attention to the regions in the newly discovered west, engaged Verrazano, a native of Florence, Italy, to explore on his behalf. Somewhere near Cape Hatteras, it is claimed that Verrazano sighted land. He then turned to the north and, on his way, entered New York harbor and ascended the Hud-

son. Returning, he coasted along the southern shore of Long Island, saw Block Island, which he called Claudia, in honor of the king's mother, and subsequently entered the harbor of Newport.

Discredit has very frequently been cast upon Verrazano's claims. The only account of his voyage was written by his brother in 1529 in a letter to Francis I. It was accompanied by a map, and was preserved for many years at Rome.

Jacques Cartier, 1534.—Ten years later, Jacques Cartier, also under French orders, while in search of a passage to India and Cathay entered St. Lawrence gulf and river. He sailed up the river, passed the heights on which Quebec now stands, then westward and southward till the rapids barred his further progress toward Cathay. A steep hill on the northern bank Cartier named Mount Royal, and at its base has grown the city of Montreal (Mont-Real.)

Our interest in Cartier and his voyages of exploration must centre in the fact that he was the pioneer in New France,—a region from which our State subsequently suffered many depredations.

Champlain and Hudson, 1609.—It is fortunate that the names of two men who visited our shores at about the same period have been permanently recorded in the history and geography of New York. Their discoveries are worthy of the immortality their names have secured. Lake Champlain and the Hudson river! Unrivalled in beauty, associated with every chapter of our early history, they remain perpetual reminders of the men whose enterprise first made our State known to the outside world.

Samuel de Champlain, an eminent French navigator, was commissioned to explore and prepare the way for a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He landed at the present site of Quebec in 1603. In order to secure the friendship of Canadian Indians he, with a few other Frenchmen, joined them in 1609 in an expedition against



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. 1567-1635

the Huron-Iroquois Confederacy. From the St. Lawrence they ascended the Sorel river to the "Lake of the Iroquois" (Lake Champlain). They met the Iroquois between Crown Point and Lake George, where the fire arms in the hands of the French won an easy victory for the invaders.

Later, with a party of Frenchmen, Champlain entered into an alliance with these Canadian Indians against the Iroquois. They penetrated well into the interior of New York and a battle was fought in the vicinity of Syracuse, in which Champlain was wounded, defeated and compelled to retreat. He is often called "The Father of New France" (Canada), and his published account of his explorations did much to attract settlers to the future State of New York.

Through Champlain's influence a party of Franciscan friars came to Canada in 1615 and began their work among the Indians. These were followed in 1625 by some Jesuit Fathers, and before the middle of that century these brave, self-sacrificing men had planted missions all about the lakes, and had even made their way to the Onondaga salt springs,—the first white men to visit that part of our State.

Following in the steps of the missionaries, Marquette and Joliet skirted our State in 1672, on their way to search for "The Great River of the West", of which they had heard through the Indians; and in 1679 La Salle, then commander of Fort Frontenac (Kingston), set out to secure possession of the Mississippi country for the king of France.

Hendrick Hudson was an English navigator. In the service of a company of English merchants he had made two voyages in search of a shorter passage to China, with the usual results. Still believing the problem could be solved, he went to Holland and offered his services to the Dutch, then the most enterprising maritime power in the world.



HENDRICK HUDSON, 1550-1611

Here he obtained command of a small vessel, the *Half Moon**, was furnished with a crew, half English, half Dutch, and in the month of April, 1609, again set out, this time from Amsterdam, commissioned to explore a passage to China by the north-east or the north-west. He first sailed to the north-east and, after a stormy voyage, in May reached the Cape of Norway, where he found the sea so full of ice that his crew compelled him to turn to the west. It was July when his battered vessel reached the banks of Newfoundland, where he was for a time becalmed. Then sailing still to the west he came at last to Penobscot Bay. Continuing to the south and west, early in September Hudson entered New York Bay.

No vision of the empire to which this was the gateway ever dawned upon his mind. No voyager had as yet comprehended the vast area of the American continent, and doubtless anyone of them would have bartered all

* For picture of this, see Hendrick's Brief History, page 12.

his discoveries for a narrow channel to the Pacific.

In September the volume of water in the Hudson river is so very small it seems a tide-water channel, and no doubt to Hudson it appeared the long-sought-for passage. He sailed up the river until its fresher, shoaling waters showed him his mistake, and in the vicinity of the site of Albany he turned back.

Again past the beautiful Catskills, through the Highlands, over the charming Tappan Zee, by the castellated Palisades, and out the Narrows, Hudson sailed, never again to behold what he well called "The fairest land the foot of man ever trod*".



On the fourth of October, 1609, Hudson set sail for Holland. Pride in his discoveries led him to stop and report them in England. His ship was allowed to proceed, but Hudson, himself, was detained by royal order, virtually a pris-

* It is interesting to remember that at this time Champlain was only a hundred miles away in the forests to the northward; that neither was aware, perhaps never knew of the presence of the other and yet; on the explorations of these two men rival nations were destined in after years to claim the territory embraced within the State.

oner. His tragic death a few years later at the hands of a mutinous crew in the frozen bay which he also discovered, has helped to immortalize his name.

Dutch enterprise, 1609.—In this same year (1609) Holland had achieved independence and taken her place among the sovereign States of Europe.

For the first time in her history she had been allowed by Spain the free navigation of the seas and the privilege of trade with India. This gave a fresh impulse to Dutch commerce, and soon trading ships began to visit the lands discovered by Hudson.

In 1610 a Dutch ship, manned by some of the sailors who in the *Half Moon* had visited the “River of the Mountains”, was on its way across the Atlantic, laden with trinkets for trade with the Indians. Their trip was successful, and in 1611 Hendrick Christiaensen and Adrian Block made the same voyage, bringing back with them two young Indian chiefs. The success of this venture emboldened three wealthy merchants of the city of Amsterdam to make a further venture, and in 1612, two other ships, *The Fortune* and *The Tiger*, were fitted out and entrusted to Christiaensen and Block for the continuation of this profitable traffic on the “Mauritius” river, as the Hudson then began to be called.

Block’s ship, *The Tiger*, was unfortunately burned. This made it necessary for him to remain over winter to build a new one, which he was able to do from the timber found on the island of Manhattan*.

* It is customary to date the settlement of New York from this year (1612), when, to protect his sailors

Block's explorations.—In the spring of 1613, in this ship, which he named *The Onrest* (The Restless), Block proceeded to explore to the eastward. With his small vessel he was able to pass through Helle-gat (Hellgate) into Long Island Sound. Here he explored the shores and inlets and discovered the Connecticut, which from that day was called East River. Later he visited Narragansett Bay and gave his name to Block Island.

Proceeding to Cape Cod, Block fell in with Christiaensen, and returned to Holland in *The Fortune*, leaving his own ship in charge of Christiaensen's brother, Cornelius. The return of these two now famous navigators still further stimulated a spirit of adventure, and in the spring of 1614 many ships visited the new trading posts established about New York Bay. In small sloops the adventurous traders penetrated every creek and bay, and carried on a profitable traffic with the natives.

Christiaensen builds Fort Nassau, 1614.—In this year (1614) Christiaensen ascended the "Mauritius" to a point a little below the present site of Albany, where the Indian trail from the west struck the river. Here on Castle Island, as a protection for his men and a storehouse for merchandise, he built a small fort which he called Fort Nassau*.

from the cold, Block built huts on the southern point of Manhattan Island. This was but temporary, and when the *Onrest* was ready for sea the huts were abandoned.

*The fort was injured in a flood soon after and was abandoned.

SUMMARY—EXPLORATIONS

1. Portugal; Spain; the Pope, and the Azores.
2. Object of explorations of that period.
3. England and the Cabots. Frobisher; Drake; Raleigh.
4. Verazzano; Cortier; Champlain.
5. Henry Hudson. His voyages and discoveries. Importance of.
6. Marquette and Joliet.
7. Claims of England, France, and Holland; ground and justice of each.
8. Dutch traders. Block. The first ship built in New York.
9. Explorations to the eastward.
10. Christiaensen. Fort Nassau.

PERIOD III

UNDER DUTCH GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER III

THE DUTCH IN NEW YORK, 1614-1626

Dutch trade.—What had been accomplished thus far was the result of private enterprise, entirely for commercial purposes. No governmental sanction had, as yet, been given to the undertaking, no national grant or charter or recognition lay behind the movement. The profits from the trade with the natives were enormous, and the search for a shorter passage to the Indies was soon forgotten in the prosecution of the new industry.

The number of ships annually visiting the trading posts was increasing. Monopolies are not a modern invention, and the time soon came when one company wished to appropriate to itself the benefits from this profitable traffic.

First charter from the states-general.—In 1614 the states-general* (Dutch Republic) granted to an Amsterdam company, for three years, the exclusive

* Extract from "Resolution of the states-general (of the United Netherlands) on the Report of the Discovery of New Netherlands."

"Saturday, the 11th of October, appeared before the Assembly, the Deputies from the United Company

privilege "to frequent the newly discovered lands lying between New France (Canada) and Virginia (the English colony)."

New Netherland.—This charter, the first formally to define the Dutch possessions in America, constituted a distinct claim to the territory described, and was the first to designate it by the term "New Netherland". It was, however, superseded in 1621 by a more distinct charter granted to the Dutch West India Company, a company which, to all intents, ruled New Netherland until the coming of the English in 1664.

The treaty of Tawasentha, 1617.—In the year 1617 the trading post on Castle Island (Fort Nassau) was abandoned, and a more advantageous location was found at the mouth of Norman's Kill,—in the language of the Mohawks "The Tawasentha". Here on the bluff now covered by the city of Albany a new trading post was established, and here in that year (1617) was made the first formal treaty with the Iroquois,—a treaty renewed by Kieft in 1645 and observed by both Dutch and English until the Revolution.

of Merchants who have discovered and found New Netherlands, situate in America, between New France and Virginia, the sea-coasts whereof lie in the Latitude of forty to forty-five degrees. And who ordered a Report of their said Discovery and finding, requesting, in consequence, the Grant promised by their High Mightinesses' published placard.

"Deliberation being had thereon, their High Mightinesses have granted and allowed, and hereby grant and allow, the Petition that they alone shall have the right to resort to or cause to be frequented, the aforesaid newly discovered countries situate, etc., etc."—*N. Y. Col. Doc. I, 10.*

Representatives from all the Iroquois tribes were present; and with them were delegates from the Mohicans, the Mincees, and the Lenni-Lenapes*. Here, "in the vale of Tawasentha", the pipe of peace was smoked and a tomahawk buried in soil over which the Dutch promised to build a church "so that none might dig it up again."

In making this treaty the Dutch were wiser than they knew. Their thought was chiefly with reference to a profitable trade, but as these Indians were supplied with fire arms, they subsequently proved of immense advantage as allies against the aggressions of the French on the north.

The Dutch rights.—The Dutch did not fail to understand that their claims in the new world would be disputed.

The French were in possession of the St. Lawrence and all the region about the great lakes. The English had now (1620) planted settlements at Plymouth and Jamestown, and for nearly one hundred years Spain had been in undisputed possession of all the shores and islands about the Gulf of Mexico; but no one had entered upon the region discovered by the Dutch, and of which they had taken formal possession. They were aware of the charter granted to the Plymouth Company in 1606, and they knew that it covered the whole of New Netherland from the Connecticut to the Delaware river.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Dermer.—In 1619 an event occurred which still further endangered the

* These were subjugate tribes and held to be a "nation of women".

Dutch possessions. During that year Captain Thomas Dermer, employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, set sail in a small pinnace from Kennebec, Me., for Virginia.

Sailing through Long Island Sound he entered New York Bay. Meeting here some Dutch traders, he informed them that they were "trespassing" on English territory, and "forbade them", as Gorges reported, "to trade or settle in those parts." On reaching England, Dermer reported what he had done, and boldly laid claim to being the first to have passed through the Sound. On the strength of this, Gorges petitioned the king that the territory "discovered" might be called "New England", and asked that "the boundaries be settled from forty to forty-five degrees of north latitude and from sea to sea."

In 1620 this prayer was granted, and a "council" of forty (including Gorges), called the "Council of Plymouth", was appointed "for the planting, ruling and governing of New England." All this was done notwithstanding the French and Dutch had for some years been in undisputed possession of much of this territory. The powers granted to this council were so vast that they excited the suspicions even of parliament.

By the conditions of this grant not a ship could enter a port from Newfoundland to Philadelphia, not an immigrant could land, not a pelt be purchased of an Indian except by consent of this company. Parliament ordered an inquiry, but the king stood by the charter.

The British ministry brought the matter to the attention of the states-general, demanding that the West India Company "vacate these possessions."

To this order no attention was paid. The Dutch

continued to ply their trade from the Connecticut to the Delaware and for a number of years the claim was not pressed.

The Walloons.—Until 1623 there had been no permanent settlements established. All who had come were traders. They had lived in huts clustered about the trading posts on Manhattan Island and at Albany. They did not clear the forest nor till the soil, nor did they bring their families, but they expected one and all to return to Holland. It was soon found desirable to establish a colony of agriculturists, who could produce the food now procured from the Indians or brought across the ocean. Fortunately there was a people anxious to come. These were the Walloons. They had originally come from the southern provinces of Belgium. When the northern provinces of the United Netherlands had formed their union in 1597, the Walloons had declined to join the confederation.

These people were of French extraction, and spoke the French language. Some of them were Protestants, and as they found themselves the subjects of most bitter and unrelenting persecution from the Spaniards they had removed to Holland. They were mainly artisans, and proved a most valuable accession to the population of that country, much of the fame of Dutch manufactures being due to their skill.

They had asked permission to settle in Virginia but this request the English had denied; and when the West India Company invited them to locate in New Netherland they gladly accepted.

In the spring of 1623, thirty families, 110 souls, arrived at New Amsterdam. They were a hardy, in-

dustrious, virtuous people. It would have been difficult to find in all Europe a better class of settlers for that time.

The Dutch West India Company, never generous, neither gave nor sold them lands; they became tenants, very nearly servants, but they remained in the colony, a most desirable nucleus for the future State.

Their names still linger among the best families on Long Island, and Brenckelen (Brooklyn), Waalboght (Wallabout), and other towns to this day remind us of these first permanent settlers.

With the Walloons came Cornelius Jacobson May as "commander"*. He was to remain as first "governor" or "director" with Adriaen Joris as second in command. The settlers were scattered to different points as pleased the directors of the company. A few families went to South River (Delaware); eighteen families in charge of Joris were sent up the Hudson to the present site of Albany and built Fort Orange: a few settled on the west shore of Long Island at a point which they called Waalboght (Wallabout).

Administration of Governor May, 1623.—May's administration was brief but efficient. On the very day of his arrival, he found in the harbor a French ship whose captain was about to set up the arms of France and claim the country for his king. May drove him out and followed him to the Delaware, where he attempted the same ceremony. May again sent him

* May had made his first voyage to these shores in 1613 in command of *The Fortune*, and Cape May bears his name.

to sea, after which May built on the Delaware a small log fort which he named Fort Nassau*.

This incident showed plainly that the French would not without a struggle abandon their claim to the territory of New Netherland. After serving one year, Governor May was succeeded by William Verhulst as second director of New Netherland, who also served one year. He was followed by Peter Minuit, who arrived in January, 1626 †.

SUMMARY—THE DUTCH IN NEW YORK

1. The first voyages to New York.
2. The first Dutch charter, 1614. Nature of.
3. Name New Netherland.
4. The second charter and the Dutch West India Company. Privileges granted.
5. Treaty of Tawasentha, 1617. Value of.
6. French, English, Dutch, and Spanish claims.
7. The Plymouth charter, 1606.
8. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 1609. Thomas Dermer. Voyage of and report made.
9. The Council of Plymouth; its claim.
10. The Walloons, 1623. Origin, character and settlement.
11. Governor May.
12. Joris and Fort Orange.
13. The French in New York Bay and on the Delaware.
14. Fort Nassau on the Delaware.

* Fort Nassau on the Hudson had been abandoned.

† Minuit is commonly, but erroneously called the first governor of New Netherland. He found a population of about two hundred people.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNOR PETER MINUIT, 1626-1632

First form of government.—To assist Minuit in his administration there was appointed a “council” of five men, besides a “koopman”, or commissary and secretary, and a “schout”, or sheriff.

This was the first form of government within the boundaries of our State, for Minuit and his council were invested with legislative, judicial, and executive power, subject only to the “chamber of deputies” at Amsterdam.

One of Minuit’s first acts was an effort towards honest dealing with the natives. The Dutch had until this time held Manhattan Island only by the right of discovery and occupancy. Minuit proceeded to make a treaty for its purchase. The island contained about 22,000 acres, and the price agreed, sixty guilders (twenty-four dollars), was paid in such trinkets as the Indians desired,—beads, rings, and knives being in special request*.

Fort Amsterdam.—Minuit now began the construction of a fort,—a block house surrounded by a palisade of cedar posts, which was known as Fort Amsterdam. The settlement which soon grew up around this was called “Manhattan”.

*See picture of this purchase in Hendrick’s History, page 18.

Staten Island was also purchased of the Indians, and soon the western shore of Long Island* was dotted with the farms which the Walloons had cleared and cultivated, and from which specimens of the harvest were sent to Holland to show the fertility of the soil.

In the first year of Minuit's administration (1626), an event occurred which for a time vacated the settlement about Fort Orange, and came very near interrupting the peaceful relations which existed between the Dutch and the Iroquois. In a stockade village on the east bank of the Hudson, just above Fort Orange, dwelt the Mohicans. They had been parties to the treaty of Tawasentha, and since that time only had lived in peace with the Mohawks at the west. Now this treaty was broken, and the two tribes were at war. The fort was in charge of one Daniel Van Kruckebecck. He foolishly consented to accompany the Mohicans on an incursion into the territory of the Mohawks. The party was caught by the latter in ambush and defeated, and Kruckebecck and three of his men were killed. Fearful of the results of this inconsiderate act, Minuit removed all the families from Fort Orange to Manhattan, leaving only a garrison of sixteen men. So great was the distrust that many other detached settlements on the Hudson were abandoned.

The Dutch and the Puritans.—Very early in the history of New Netherland, the Dutch had pushed their trading ventures not only southward to Delaware Bay, but eastward through Long Island Sound to the Connecticut river, and even as far as Narragansett

* This was the beginning of Brooklyn.

Bay. Here they were destined to come into contact with the Puritans, to whom they were bound by many ties of friendship.

On leaving England, the Puritans had settled in Holland, and had remained there twelve years, this residence being entirely satisfactory to the Dutch. Furthermore, when the Puritans at last contemplated the project of removing to America, they had made application for permission to settle among their friends in New Netherland. The prospect of 400 families of such a character as settlers was gladly considered by the Dutch merchants, who in 1620 held the Charter of Privileges.

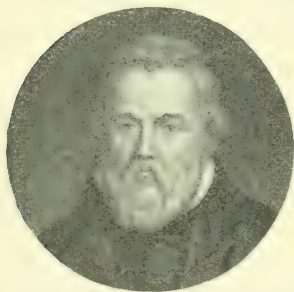
Application was accordingly made to the Prince of Orange for authority to enter into an agreement for their transportation to America, and for one other consideration which they demanded,—“ protection ” after they had gone. The Prince referred the question to the “ states-general ”. This conservative body had just learned that England claimed all the coast of North America, and therefore it doubted the advisability of planting an English colony within the very territory over which there was likely to be contention.

So it chanced that the Puritans settled in New England instead of in New Netherland. Here after many hardships they had begun to prosper; here they had set up a form of government more nearly like that of Holland than of England; and here they had, in 1629 obtained a charter, which in its westward extension, included all that portion of New Netherland lying between Esopus (Kingston) and the Mohawk river.

To this charter was added, however, the saving clause

that this grant was to be “utterly void concerning any parts or parcels thereof actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or State before the third day of November, 1620.” This was a remarkably important reservation. Until 1623 the Dutch had an entire monopoly of the trade with the region north of Long Island Sound. They supplied the Indian tribes with Dutch wares, and received in return furs, corn, and venison.

Governor Minuit and Governor Bradford.—In



WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1590-1657

1627 Minuit drew up a letter, “written in a very fair hand”, which he dispatched to Governor Bradford at Plymouth, congratulating him on the prosperous condition of his people, alluding to the former friendships made in Holland, and inviting commercial relations.

To this Governor Bradford replied in the same vein, in turn congratulating Governor Minuit on the recent alliance of their respective countries against their common enemy, the hated Spaniard, and referring to their happy residence in Holland, “for which we are bound to be thankful and our children after us, and shall never forget the same.” He declined the commercial reciprocity proposed, “being fully supplied with necessities,” and then curiously added his regret that the Dutch should trade within the limits of New England.

Governor Bradford suggested that by King James's patent the English possessions extended from the 40th to the 48th degrees north latitude, and from sea to sea; to which Minuit replied in substance: "We came here, we found no English; we have settled here and shall be obliged to defend our rights." Bradford wrote to his government that "for strength of men and fortifications, the Dutch far exceed us, and besides spoiling our trade they continue 'to truck' guns, powder and shot with the Indians, which will soon be the overthrow of us all if it be not looked into*."

Minuit receiving no answer to his last letter to Governor Bradford sent a special messenger with tokens of good will, "*a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses*," and invited the Puritans to come to Manhattan "to confer". Governor Bradford kindly entertained the Dutch messenger, but replied that he could not send a messenger as "one of our boats is abroad *and we have much business at home*."

Governor Minuit, anxious still for peaceful relations, finally sent a deputation to Plymouth, which was very graciously received. It was the first meeting in the new world of representatives from the colonies of the old world. Each party was most anxious to maintain friendly relations, yet neither would abate one jot of what it believed to be its colonial rights.

The Puritans did not forget that their visitors came from the only land that would receive them, when, as "Pilgrims" they had left England forever; while the Dutch, on their part, remembered their own struggles for religious freedom. But the latter learned a lesson

* Massachusetts Historical Collection.

which they carried home with them to put in practice when they at last felt the yoke of the West India Company to be too heavy. They learned much of the English form of government, of their annual elections, and their better means of living.

Currency.—In their dealings with the Indians the Dutch had one great advantage over the English, by means of which they had been able to monopolize the fur trade about Narragansett Bay. The Indians did not care for European coins. The currency they preferred was “seawan”, which was of two kinds: “wampum” or white beads, made from the stem of the periwinkle; and “suckanhock” or black beads, the value of which was double that of the white. “Seawan” was both used as currency and worn as jewelry. It distinguished the rich from the poor; it bought lands and merchandise; it purchased a ransom, it atoned for an injury, and it was used in various Indian ceremonies.

“Wampum” was chiefly manufactured by the Indians of Long Island. The Dutch trader was not slow to avail himself of the advantages derived from living so near to the source of this valuable medium of exchange. Governor Minuit went so far as to propose to Governor Bradford a sort of reciprocity which would furnish the English traders with this currency, but his friendly overtures were rejected.

The patroon sytem, 1629.—The population of Manhattan at this time was but 270, and its growth was very slow. Only a small area about the settlements was under cultivation, and the supply of food was entirely insufficient for the use even of the traders who

still constituted the greater part of the population. Settlers did not come. The island of Manhattan had become by purchase the private property of the Dutch West India Company, but the revenues of that company came from the peltries purchased from the Indians, and did not at all satisfy the men who were looking in New Netherland not for a future Dutch State but for an increase in the number of profitable trading posts.

Their profits they saw would be greatly increased if there were on this side the Atlantic prosperous colonies that would purchase cargoes of Dutch wares and in return furnish products of which European markets were in need. So it was thought desirable to plant several distinct colonies within their possessions here. For this purpose a plan was suggested for transplanting to this country one of the features of the old feudal system of Europe. This plan was approved by the college of nineteen*. A "Charter of Privileges" and exemptions was issued, granting to any member of the company extensive domains in New Netherland, outside of Manhattan Island, on condition that he should within four years place upon the land so granted, a colony of fifty adult settlers. Those to whom these grants should be made were to be known as "Patroons", i. e., patrons, or defenders.

Each patroon might select sixteen miles frontage on any navigable water, or eight miles on both sides, and might extend that tract into the interior as far as he

*The "College of Nineteen" was the executive committee of the West India Company. In this college the states-general had one representative.

chose. The patroons must purchase their lands from any Indians laying claim to them, and must support a minister and school-master. These colonies were for ten years to be protected “against all *inlandish* and *outlandish* wars and powers”, but were forbidden to manufacture any linen or cotton cloth, or “to traffic in the skins of otters, beavears, and minks”.

The patroon system brought to our shores men who became of great service to the country, and many of their names linger among us still; but the system was opposed to the genius of American institutions and could not long endure. Ultimately it led to those serious anti-rent troubles which will be treated of later.

The colonists brought over by the patroons were tenants for a term of years, and when their period of service expired, they were free to renew the contract or to go away from the colony.

The patroon estates.—The patroons were active in securing valuable estates for themselves. In fact, so many of Governor Minuit’s friends became patroons that his partiality to them ultimately led to his recall. Killian Van Rensselaer, one of the directors, became the owner of an immense tract of land near Fort Orange*. Michael Paauw took a district opposite Fort Amsterdam, at that time called “Hoboken-Hacking”†.

Even David Pietersen De Vries, one of the wisest and most liberal of all the directors, perceived the advantage of these investments, and in company with

* He managed by proxy to secure a tract 48 by 24 miles in one body, and 62,000 acres in another.

† From a corruption of Paauw we get Pavonia.

Samuel Godyn, Samuel Blommaert and John De Laet (or Laert) acquired an extensive tract of land in Delaware, taking possession in the name of the states-general and founding the patroonship of Swansdale*. Hoboken, or Pavonia, gradually spread southward on the New Jersey shore and finally embraced the whole of Staten Island†, which afterwards came into possession of De Vries.

Complete feudal rights were granted to these proprietors. Within the limits of their patents or charters they exercised absolute rule over their domains.

They made laws and executed them, even inflicting the death penalty. They did not prosper, and when the English came in 1664, Rensselaerwick was the only patroonship remaining.

The English claim New Netherland.—In 1632 Governor Minuit was recalled. It so happened that the ship on which he took passage was by a storm driven into Plymouth harbor. Here it was seized on the charge of illegally trading within the king's dominions. Captain Mason of Plymouth, who made the seizure, reported to the English government that the Dutch were "interlopers, having fallen into the middle between Virginia and New England". This letter took no account of Dutch claims or titles, but boldly included the territory of New Netherland in the charter given to the Council of Plymouth in 1620. The West India Company immediately prepared a strong docu-

* This settlement was in the next year entirely destroyed by the Indians, not one person being left to tell the tale.

† Staten or *Staats* Island.

mentary statement of the ground of their rights. It was clear, explicit, truthful and dignified. The ground of their claim was as follows:

1. The discovery in 1609.
2. Their occupancy in 1610.
3. The grant of a trading charter in 1614.
4. The maintenance of a fort and garrison.
5. The failure of the English to occupy the territory claimed.

These were indeed strong claims. King Charles could not refute them, neither would he concede their justice. Fearing his foreign relations might be endangered by its further detention, he ordered the release of the ship, "saving any prejudice to his Majesty's rights". This was another postponement, not a settlement of the dispute.

Review of Minuit's Administration.—Notwithstanding the abuses complained of and which finally secured his recall, Minuit's administration was, on the whole, a wise one. He had made an honest purchase of Manhattan Island, had improved the settlements about the Island, and had maintained peaceful relations with the Indians and with the English. The patroonships of Rensselaerwick and Swaansdale had been founded and both the exports and imports of the colony had been greatly augmented. For two years after his recall the little colony was without a governor, its affairs being managed by the "Council".

SUMMARY

1. The coming of Minuit, 1626. His government. The purchase of Manhattan.

2. Fort Amsterdam.
3. Indian troubles at Albany.
4. The Dutch and the Puritans. Why the Puritans did not settle in New Netherland.
5. Their charter and the Dutch possessions.
6. Minuit and Governor Bradford. Minuit's efforts for peace.
7. Wampum; nature and value.
8. The patroons (1629); their privileges and obligations. Character of patroons.
9. Prominent patroons.
10. Defects of the system.
11. Departure of Minuit; arrest of; Plymouth complaint.
12. Dutch statement of the ground of their rights.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR WOUTER VAN TWILLER, 1633-1638

In the spring of 1633 Wouter (Walter) Van Twiller came as governor. He was ignorant of public affairs and wholly unfitted for so responsible a position. Whatever may have been his good qualities, he will always, to the New York school-boy, be seen as represented by Washington Irving*.

But this is in no sense a true picture of him, nor must Irving's description of the times during which Van Twiller was governor be taken at all seriously. Lazy and bibulous the governor doubtless was, but as we have seen, the people among whom he came were poor, and there were no such scenes of plenty on the island of Manhattan as Irving depicts.

Van Twiller brought with him a hundred soldiers as a garrison for the fort, the first to be stationed in the colony. The good Dominie Bogardus†, and Adam Roelandson, the first schoolmaster in the colony, came with Van Twiller. While we know little of Roelandson, we find much recorded of Dominie Bogardus. He frequently thought he ought to réprove the governor,

* Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York".

† Bogardus is usually spoken of as the first minister in Manhattan, but Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer tells of one Rev. Jonas Michaelius who was there in 1628, and was both minister and schoolmaster.

and did not fear to do his duty. On one occasion to Governor Van Twiller's face he called him a “child of the devil”, and threatened to give him a “shaking from the pulpit”. Later, it was Dominie Bogardus who called Governor Kieft to account for his cruelties to the Indians, and from his pulpit declared that “our great men are but vessels of wrath and fountains of trouble.”

Manhattan invested with “Staple Rights”, 1633.—In the management of New Netherland the West India Company looked only for quick returns from their investments. They viewed the colony from a commercial standpoint; for its political future, they cared very little. Consequently Van Twiller's whole purpose as governor was to extend the monopoly of the company. For this reason the little village of Manhattan, now containing about 300 whites, was in 1633 invested with “Staple Rights”, by virtue of which act, all merchandise passing up or down the river became subject to such duties as the company saw fit to impose, thus giving it a monopoly of all the trade of the colony.

Fort Good Hope and the Puritans.—Among the enterprises entrusted to Van Twiller was the protection of the interests of the West India Company on the East river (Connecticut). At this point a danger still threatened. Here the Dutch were constantly coming into contact with the Puritans, under conditions greatly to their own disadvantage.

The early Dutch were a race of merchants; and so, unfortunately, their American possessions were almost

entirely occupied by traders. These men were enterprising; they pushed their ventures east, west, north and south; but they neither cleared the forests nor tilled the soil. As a result, at the east they had early come into contact with a race who were both traders and agriculturists, who were as keen for traffic as themselves, but who were followed at once by an army of farmers who cared less for furs than for choice lands; who had come to this country to stay; who had transplanted all their earthly possessions, and who were setting up new homes in a western wilderness.

The Dutch traders had observed the Puritans' thrift and especially their tendency to colonize farther and farther to the west. Their keen commercial instinct told them something must be done to check this westward tendency of their enterprising neighbors.

So, relying upon their right by virtue of Block's discoveries (1613), they determined to take formal possession of the valley of the Connecticut. In 1633, Van Twiller sent commissary Jacob Van Curler out in charge of a small expedition for that purpose. Van Curler set up the arms of Holland at the mouth of the Connecticut river, and, sailing north to what gave promise of being a good location, bought land of the Indians and began the construction of a fort which he called "Fort Good Hope", on the site of the city of Hartford.

This fort was but half finished when Captain William Holmes of Plymouth came sailing boldly up the river. He was ordered to halt, but paid no attention; nor did he give any more heed when Van Curler threatened to fire on him. He pushed on past the

Dutch fort and established a rival trading post where Windsor now stands, a few miles above Hartford.

Here matters rested until two years later, when a colony from Dorchester, Mass., half the population of that town, came and settled at Windsor, making clearings and establishing a town, while Good Hope remained only a trading post.

Other settlements followed, and in a few years the Dutch found themselves crowded out of the valley of the Connecticut.

Eelkens and the "William".—In 1633 another incident occurred to show the determination of the English to gain possession of New Netherland. One Jacob Eelkins, a former employe of the West India Company who had been dismissed from their service, arrived from London in the English ship *William* and attempted to sail up the Hudson to trade with the Indians. This was the first English ship to enter New York Bay. The vacillating Van Twiller remonstrated, swore, and finally allowed Eelkens to proceed. The real head of the colony was a director, David Pietersen De Vries. He proposed that Eelkens should be driven out, and he carried his point. The *William* was brought down to Manhattan and forced to sea. Eelkens returned to London entire'y foiled in his purpose of interfering with Dutch trade.

Van Twiller recalled.—At last complaints against Van Twiller began to reach Holland. It was not just to charge to his incompetence all the troubles of the colony, but it did not prosper.

There were reasons for this. The patroons brought

a number of colonists to our shores, but they kept more away. There was really nothing to invite thrifty, industrious people to emigrate to New Netherland, as there was on the other hand little to tempt the lazy and vicious.

The West India Company decided that Van Twiller must be recalled, and in 1638 he was replaced by William Kieft.

SUMMARY

1. The coming of Van Twiller, 1633. Character of the man.
2. Roelandson and Bogardus.
3. Staple rights; nature of.
4. English and Dutch contrasted.
5. Van Curler and Fort Good Hope.
6. Captain Holmes of Plymouth.
7. The conflict for the possession of the Connecticut Valley.
8. Eelken's visit to New York.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNOR WILLIAM KIEFT, 1638-1647

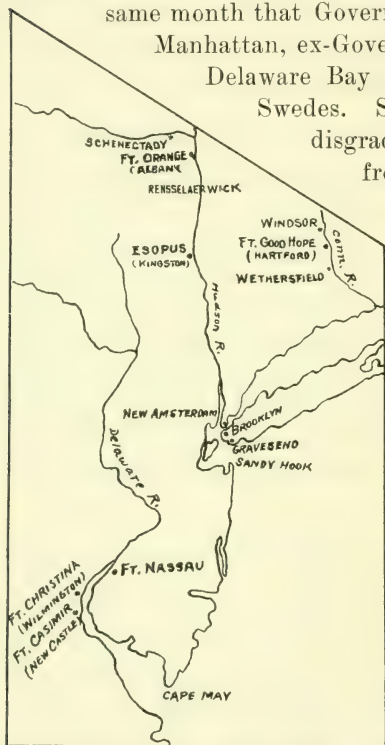
Much that is uncomplimentary has been written of the early life of William Kieft, and the character of his administration did not redeem the reputation that preceded him. He truly found the affairs of the company in a bad condition and he set about reforming abuses so vigorously as almost to destroy the semblance of liberty among the people. While Van Twiller had governed too little, Kieft governed too much. He soon concentrated power as much as possible in his own hands, and at once spoke of the people as his "subjects".

The morals of the community under the easy rule of the good-natured Van Twiller had grown lax. Kieft instituted a rigorous police system, and threatened evil doers with fines and imprisonment. Sailors were for the first time required to be on their ships after night-fall. The promiscuous sale of liquors was prohibited, and the "tapping of beer during *divine service*" was forbidden. He reformed the court by requiring that all complaints should be written in proper form by the colonial secretary.

For these and many other restraints on what the people were pleased to call their "liberties", the new governor was roundly censured.

The Swedes on the Delaware, 1638.—In the same month that Governor Kieft arrived at Manhattan, ex-Governor Minuit entered Delaware Bay with a colony of Swedes. Smarting under the disgrace of his dismissal from the service of the

West India Company, he determined to profit by his knowledge of Dutch management in New Netherland. For this purpose he went to Sweden and offered his services to Gustavus Adolphus, then the most powerful military leader in all Europe, proposing to lead a Swedish colony to America.



While negotiations were pending, Gustavus Adolphus died, and the government descended to his daughter Christina, a child of six years.

On this account, his proposal was not acted upon until 1638, when, a regency having been established with the illustrious Axel, Count of Oxenstiern, at its

head, a colony of fifty, accompanied by a man-of-war, was dispatched in care of Minuit. He knew of the construction of the Dutch fort on the Delaware and of the advantages offered there, both for trade and agriculture. Ignoring the little garrison still maintained at Fort Nassau, he boldly landed fifteen miles below that place, purchased land of the Indians, and proceeded to build a fort*, which in honor of the child queen of Sweden, he named Fort Christina.

Kieft at once sent out one of his "proclamations" against this encroachment of the Swedes, to which Minuit paid not the slightest attention. The colony remained, with varying fortunes, the first permanent settlement in the State of Delaware.

Complaints against the West India company, 1638. — Even before Kieft's arrival complaints of mismanagement on the part of the company reached Holland, and an investigation was ordered. The facts came out that, so far the company had managed affairs solely in its own interests; that few settlers were going to New Netherland; and that the states-general were reaping no benefit from all that had been done in America.

The patroons, too, grew more grasping year by year, and brought little or no revenue to the company. They even demanded that their already enormous powers and privileges be still further enlarged. They wanted to monopolize more territory, to have longer time in which to settle colonies; to become entirely independent of the company; to have a vote in the

* About when Wilmington now stands.

council; to be supplied with negro slaves as laborers; and, lastly, they demanded that "private persons" should not be allowed to purchase land from the Indians, but should be obliged to settle within the domains of these manorial lords.

Proclamation of free trade.—It was now determined to attempt the experiment of opening to free competition the internal trade of New Netherland. The Amsterdam chamber proclaimed "that all inhabitants of the United Provinces, and of friendly countries might freely convey in the company's ships any cattle and merchandise they desired," and "might receive whatever returns they or their agents may be able to obtain in these quarters therefor."

A more liberal policy toward immigrants was forced upon the company, and under this system a desirable class of settlers began to arrive in New Netherland. Small farmers came, and for the first time in the history of the colony fruit trees were planted and gardens were cultivated. Commercial privileges which had been confined to the patroons were extended to all free colonists*, and trade began to revive†.

Dutch and English claims to Long Island.—The New England colonists each year narrowed more and more the frontier of New Netherland to the east, and

*Those not bound to service.

†In the midst of the general depression one colony prospered. This was the Van Rensselaer patroonship at Fort Orange. It embraced most of the present counties of Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia, more than 1,000 square miles, extending twenty-five miles along the Hudson river.

slowly but surely circumstances were shaping the future State of New York.

The Dutch settlements on Long Island had up to this time been confined to the vicinity of Brooklyn. Kieft now extended the possessions of the company by purchase from the Indians of all that portion west of Oyster Bay, although the Dutch had always considered the entire island theirs by right of discovery and possession.

The Council of Plymouth laid claim to the eastern portion of Long Island and granted charters to parts of the same. The first grant was made in 1639 to one Lyon Gardiner, of an island which the Indians called Machonack, but which was afterward known as Gardiner's Island. Here, in 1640, was planted the first English settlement within the present limits of the State of New York.

Relations with the Indians.—The opening of trade with its benefits brought its troubles also. The old, cautious policy of the company was no longer enforced, and greedy traders furnished the Mohawks with guns and ammunition so freely that they began to levy tribute from the surrounding tribes,—at once arousing jealousy against the Dutch.

The hatred of the river tribes was still further aroused by Kieft, who, alleging “express orders from Holland”, exacted contributions of corn and furs from them. These tribes were soon entirely estranged, and their vindictive manner led Kieft to order all residents of Manhattan to arm themselves and at a given signal to repair to the fort.

For a petty theft*, Kieft at once undertook to punish the Raritans. In this "punishment" several Indians were killed, and all hope of regaining the good will of the savages was lost.

Trouble with the Raritans.—The cruelties inflicted upon the Raritans had aroused their animosity, and they only awaited the time when they might avenge their injuries. Before long they laid waste De Vries's settlement on Staten Island. Kieft, learning of this, determined upon their destruction, and offered a reward for the heads of all who had been concerned in the affair. De Vries, though the real sufferer, remonstrated with Kieft, and insisted that the Indian troubles were the result of bad faith on the part of the whites. He said to him, "You wish to break the Indians' mouths, but you will also murder our own people."

The murder of Claus Smits.—The Indian troubles grew more threatening. In revenge for an injury done him when a child, an Indian murdered a poor inoffensive wheel-wright, Claus Smits. Immediately Kieft sent out to the Weckquaesgeeks, demanding the murderer. Their sachem refused to deliver him up. With his usual hasty spirit, Kieft proposed to punish this tribe as he had punished the Raritans, but was fearful of the consequences should a general Indian war result. From this circumstance grew the first attempt at a representative government in New York.

"The council of twelve", or, "The twelve men," 1641.—In his perplexity Kieft summoned "all the masters and heads of families to meet him

* On De Vries plantation on Staten Island.

in Fort Amsterdam to resolve on something of the first necessity." This was the first popular meeting ever held in New Netherland, the first recognition of the right of the people to a voice in the affairs of the colony, and, as such, should be placed to the credit of Governor Kieft. The question he proposed to the meeting showed that his own mind was already made up, and that he only wanted the sanction of the people to what he was about to undertake. But even this was a concession to the growing demand for a share in the government*. This assembly chose "Twelve select men" to consider the question submitted, and the "twelve" elected David Pietersen De Vries as their president†.

Their answer to the governor contained one remarkable sentence; "God and the opportunity ought to be taken into consideration."

The "twelve" assented to the hostilities proposed, but advised the hot-headed governor to proceed cautiously.

*This is the question he proposed: "Is it not just that the murder lately committed by a savage upon Claus Smits be avenged and punished; and in case the Indians will not surrender the murderer, is it not just to destroy the whole village to which he belongs? In what manner ought this to be done?"

†De Vries, who was competent to speak, and not likely to give Kieft undue credit, says they were selected to aid in the management of the affairs of the colony; but Van der Donck, in his "Vertoogh" written soon after Kieft's recall says they had "neither vote nor advice in judicial matters", but "were chosen to serve as cloaks and 'cats-paws' in time of war".

Demands of the "twelve", 1642.—The next year Kieft called the "Council of Twelve" together, and while it was agreed that war should begin at once, they insisted that Kieft should lead the expedition in person.

They were bold enough to demand also some reforms in the government of the colony. They complained of the arbitrary constitution of the government; they asked that four persons be chosen from their number (two to retire each year), "who shall have access to the council so that taxes may not be imposed on the country in the absence of the twelve"; and they reminded him that while in Holland the smallest village had a board of from five to seven schepens, Manhattan had none. They also asked that all freemen should be allowed to visit vessels arriving from abroad, as was the custom in their native country; and that all colonists should have the right to go and come freely and to trade where they pleased, provided they paid the company's duties.

Kieft was grieved at the unsolicited advice given by the "twelve", and plainly told them that their duties ended with the case of the murdered Smits. A few of their requests were granted, and to save himself from their further meddling in his affairs, the governor issued a proclamation in which he thanked the "twelve", dismissed them, and forbade the calling of other assemblies, "without express orders of the director". Thus for the time, ended popular government in New Netherland.

The governor now having the sanction he desired did not delay the campaign. Fortunately the Indians

submitted in time to save both parties from the consequences of their folly, and a temporary peace was made which postponed, but did not avert the war.

The year of blood, 1643.—In the early annals of New Netherland the year 1643 was always known as “the year of blood”. In New England there was general alarm over reports of an intended rising of all the Indian tribes in those colonies, while in New Netherland there was a feeling of insecurity among all the outlying settlements. The almost universal fear was soon realized. The trouble began with a drunken Indian who murdered a Dutch settler.

De Vries, the peace maker, undertook to prevent an outbreak. After giving his personal promise of their safety, he persuaded the sachems of the Hackensacks to go to the fort, see the governor, and offer full atonement, according to their standard, in money. This they did, but Kieft was inexorable; the guilty Indian must be delivered up*.

Before Kieft had time to take this matter in hand a more serious event occurred, which drove the first from men’s minds.

One winter’s night, some neighboring Indians having been attacked by another river tribe, sought refuge among the whites. De Vries and others were trying to

* The Indians would not do this, but they read the governor a temperance lecture which has rarely been equalled. “Why do you sell brandy to our young men? They are not used to it; it makes them crazy. Even your own people sometimes become drunk and fight. Sell no more strong drink and you will save trouble.”

protect these savages, when Kieft ordered his soldiery to assault them, and in spite of the protests of their protectors, they were murdered.

Such an act could bring but one result; all the tribes were at once in arms. The farms were laid waste, the farmers murdered, and many of the smaller settlements entirely destroyed. Kieft was now bitterly reproached, and his life was in danger from the people he had come to govern.

De Vries had suffered much from the Indians, but he was opposed to Kieft's policy of going to war with them. When his colony of Swansdale had been destroyed he had not retaliated, but had made peace with the guilty tribe, which had become his friends. When the Raritans had laid waste his settlement on Staten Island, he was still for peace, but Kieft offered a reward for the Raritans who had been concerned in the matter. The war which followed nearly depopulated the colony. The Indians on Long Island, hitherto always friendly, made common cause with the other savages. Tribes that had never agreed before united to drive the Dutch into the sea. Eleven tribes were in the league. The attacks came from every side; they came by day and by night; they swarmed on the settlers from swamps and thickets.

Vriesdale was destroyed, and De Vries himself was in danger. He was in his manor house when, in the midst of the attack, word was passed to the besiegers that he was a friend to the Indians, and instantly the seige was raised. Going down to Manhattan, De Vries entered the fort where Kieft was safely housed, and indignantly reminded the governor of his warning.

“Did I not tell you that you were only helping to shed Christian blood?” he demanded.

Kieft was humbled. The colony was ruined, and the people charged all their woes upon his head. Only after much bloodshed was a peace arranged which lasted till the following August (1643). Then the hatchet was dug up and again war raged from the Connecticut to the Hackensack. It spread to New Jersey and even invaded the island of Manhattan.

The eight men, 1643.—The governor had disbanded the “twelve men” and in his extremity asked the people to appoint eight men as a council. The “eight” were very determined men*. They recommended the enlistment of as large a force as the colony could equip. Fifty Englishmen enlisted and were placed under command of Captain Underhill, a veteran of the Pequod war.

Little was done during the winter†. De Vries, having lost everything and being weary with the constant warfare with which he was surrounded, sailed for Holland. As he was leaving, he called on Governor Kieft and gave him solemn warning. “The murders,” he said, “in which you have shed so much innocent blood will yet be visited on your own head.”

Again the “eight men” came together and this time they sent a most pitiful appeal to the states-

* The “eight men” suggested that a little less “taverning” and more preaching would be good for the people.

† It was this year that the palisade, or fence, with a wall was built across Manhattan Island, marking what is now known as Wall street.

general, describing the condition of the colony and making complaint against the governor. In the spring of 1644 the campaign was pushed with all the vigor that was possible from the ruined colony. Captain Underhill went to Connecticut and reduced the savages there, then returned and pursued those nearer Manhattan. Unexpected aid now came. One hundred¹ and thirty Dutch soldiers from the West Indies arrived in time to be of real service.

The governor and the "eight men" now quarrelled over the conduct of the campaign, and Captain Underhill, with his English soldiers were dismissed. At the close of 1644 the "eight men" sent another appeal to Holland, and also begged for the recall of Governor Kieft.

It is difficult, in our time, even to imagine the deplorable condition to which the colony was reduced. For four years New Netherland had hardly known rest from Indian wars. Manhattan was nearly depopulated, scarcely one hundred able-bodied men remained, while 1,600 savages had been killed.

With the return of spring, the Indians again desired peace, and Kieft most eagerly acquiesced. Rest was at last brought to the distracted colony, and gradually the people returned to their desolated farms.

Kieft recalled, 1647.—The demand for Kieft's recall was now stronger than ever, and in 1647, he took his departure, carrying with him the dislike of the colony, but consoling himself with £20,000 which he had been able to accumulate. In the same ship sailed good Dominie Bogardus, who with Kieft and

eighty others perished in the wreck of their vessel on the home voyage.

Soon after Kieft's departure came Peter Stuyvesant, the sixth and last Dutch governor.

SUMMARY

1. Governor William Kieft. His character.
2. Some improvements made.
3. The Swedes on the Delaware. Fort Christina.
4. Complaints against the West India Company.
5. Complaints against the Patroons.
6. The opening of trade. Effect of.
7. Controversy over Long Island.
8. Extent of the Rensselaer patroonship.
9. Indian troubles; origin of.
10. Kieft's unwise policy.
11. Troubles with the Raritans.
12. The Claus Smits trouble.
13. Origin of "The Council of Twelve". Their office.
14. The action of the twelve.
15. The complaints of the twelve and their discharge.
16. The "year of blood", 1643; De Vries; the "eight men".
17. Captain John Underhill.
18. The complaint of the "eight men".
19. Effects of Kieft's wars.
20. Fate of Kieft and Dominie Bogardus.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST DUTCH GOVERNOR, PETER STUYVESANT, 1647-1664

Peter Stuyvesant.—The new governor was a gallant soldier who had seen much service in the wars of Holland, but he was very inexperienced in administrative affairs.



PETER STUYVESANT, 1602-1682

It being now the sincere wish of the West India Company to improve the condition of their colony, Stuyvesant's duties were outlined for him as follows: He was

to keep peace with the Indians; to repair the fort; to make sure the English did not further encroach on the territory of New Netherland; to induce the settlement of desirable colonists; to prevent the sale of arms to the Indians; to maintain a permanent garrison; and to open trade to all the inhabitants.

This was work enough to tax the wit of a wiser man than Governor Stuyvesant. Fortunately for him, the Iroquois kept their early treaties, and gave little trouble, while, thanks to Kieft's blood-thirsty policy, the neighboring tribes had been nearly exterminated and were incapable of doing much harm.

Settlers were ready to come to the colony at any time whenever its affairs gave promise of being peaceful and its proprietors were willing to allow a laboring man the fruits of his industry. The English problem promised to give trouble and the Swedes, now well established on the Delaware, evidently intended to maintain their position in spite of Stuyvesant's authority.

The people of Manhattan were rejoiced when their new governor came, and they wished to pay him their respects. When they had been kept waiting bare-headed in the sun for an hour, and were told by Stuyvesant that he had come to govern them "as a father would govern his children", some of them went away in doubt. He soon showed the burghers that, like Kieft, he regarded them as his "subjects". He declared that it was "treason to appeal from the decision of one's superiors", and that if any one appealed from his decisions he "would make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland".

However, he showed himself a despot "with a bite not so bad as his bark". He reformed many abuses. He was tyrannical but just, and treated the Indians with kindness.

A demand for self-government, 1647.—Concerning one matter Stuyvesant found the people stubbornly insistent. They remembered the local self-government of Holland. They demanded the same freedom, and the same share in the government of New Netherland that they had enjoyed in the "Fatherland"; while Stuyvesant, more accustomed to camps than courts, had no liking for free institutions, and preferred good

dividends for the stockholders to the advice of the common people, whom he held in great contempt. But these demands finally became so imperative, they could be no longer ignored.

An election was therefore held in which Manhattan, Breuckelen, Amersfort (Flatlands), and Pavonia participated. Eighteen "of the most notable, reasonable, honest, and respectable" persons among them were selected, from whom, according to customs in the "Fatherland", the "director and his council" were to choose "*Nine Men*" to "advise and assist the governor *when called upon*". A small concession to the popular demand for a share in the government! It was, however, a recognition that the people existed, and as such they accepted it.

The "nine men".—Stuyvesant ambiguously defined the powers and duties of the "nine" as follows: They were "to promote the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland;" to "preserve pure Reformed religion;" "to meet only when convened in a legitimate manner;" and "*when called upon*" they were "to bring forward their advice." Three of the nine were to have seats by rotation in the council once a week, to whom, as arbitrators, civil cases "might be referred". It would be difficult to hedge about more completely the powers of any body of public offices.

One of the first matters recommended by the "nine" was the reorganization of the public school, thus proving their genuine interest in the concerns of the colony.

Stuyvesant's intolerance.—For a time this small share in the government was accepted with good grace,

but soon, having plenty of proofs that the governor would in no sense be bound by their opinions, the "nine" thought it wise to preserve in a proper journal the transactions of his council*.

Stuyvesant was even more intolerant in religious matters. Until this time there had been absolute freedom of religious worship in the colony. The new governor proposed to allow none except the Dutch Reformed services. In 1656 he imposed a fine of one hundred Flemish pounds on any who should preach without a license. For this he was rebuked by the company. In the next year some Quakers, driven from Plymouth, came to Manhattan. Enraged beyond measure at their advent, Stuyvesant scourged, imprisoned, and finally drove them from the colony.

The memorial of 1649.—Stuyvesant's efforts at repression only excited to a greater degree the growing sentiment in favor of popular government. This resulted in 1649 in a memorial to the states-general in which the "nine men" plainly stated the wishes of the colonists.

They made three requests which were ably enforced with earnest arguments:

1. New Netherland should be peopled at once with colonists from Holland, brought over in public vessels.
2. The states-general should immediately establish a "suitable burgher government resembling that of the Fatherland".

*This duty they imposed on Adrian Von der Donck one of their number. Stuyvesant arrested him and lodged him in jail.

3. The boundaries of New Netherland should be established so that the people might "dwell in peace and quietness".

These were the chief points in the memorial, but the "nine men" explained in marginal remarks the organization of the New England colonies where "neither patroon nor lord was known but only the people."

With this went a popular remonstrance in which complaint was made of the mismanagement of the West India Company, concluding with these memorable words: "In our opinion this country will never flourish under the government of the honorable company, but will pass away and come to an end. Therefore it would be more profitable for them and better for the country that they should be rid thereof and their effects transported hence."

This "vertoogh", or remonstrance, and the memorial were intrusted to three men, who with Dominie Backerus departed for Holland, July 6, 1649.

The commission to Holland, 1650.—The three commissioners sent to the fatherland performed their duty faithfully. For the first time in the history of the colony its affairs were truthfully presented to the home government, while an agent whom Stuyvesant also sent over presented the governor's side of the matter in complaint.

So much had never before been heard of New Netherland. A member of the Amsterdam chamber of deputies wrote to Stuyvesant, "The name 'New Netherland' was hardly ever before mentioned here; now it would seem that heaven and earth are inter-

ested in it." Interest in the almost forgotten colony across the Atlantic was excited, and the states-general reported a remedy which they thought should give satisfaction to all parties.

In the "order" which they issued, the following important directions were given:

1. They condemned Kieft's Indian wars, and directed that thereafter no hostilities should be waged against the Indians except by the approval of the states-general.

2. Trade in guns with the Indians was to be discontinued.

3. Three additional clergymen should be provided and schools established.

4. *The administration and collection of taxes should be regulated by the people.*

5. Two members of the council should be chosen by the commonalty, and a burgher government established in Manhattan.

6. The "nine men" should continue three years longer and have jurisdiction in cases between "man and man".

7. Private ships sailing from Holland to New Netherland should be compelled to carry emigrants, for which purpose 15,000 guilders should be annually expended*.

The plan of the commissioners did not meet the

* Three other matters of complaint were also regulated. All sales of real estate were made void unless approved by the director and council; bread was required to be made of a standard weight and quality; and the currency was regulated. For lack of current specie, wampum was made lawfully current, at the rate of three black or six white beads for one "stiver".

fond expectations of the commonalty, while the Amsterdam directors on their part, prepared to resist as far as possible even these small concessions to the popular demands.

The Hartford treaty.—One of the most important events of Stuyvesant's administration also occurred in 1650.

In the midst of his controversies at home, he undertook a settlement of the long standing difficulty on Long Island and on the Connecticut river.

For this purpose he visited Hartford, undertaking, as he explained, "this long and troublesome journey" for the purpose of arranging a definite and final understanding with the English. All the points in controversy were reviewed, and at last it was agreed that the question in dispute should be submitted to four commissioners, two to be appointed by each party. Stuyvesant chose two Englishmen, citizens of Manhattan, to act for him.

The decision of this commission was that the Dutch should retain their lands in Hartford (trading post only), and that the boundary between the two colonies should be a line drawn across Long Island from the west side of Oyster Bay to the sea; also a line from the west side of Greenwich Bay, north twenty miles and after that, not less than ten miles from the Hudson river*.

Fort Nassau and New Sweden.—In July, 1651,

* It will be noticed that this line north of the Sound is substantially the division between the States to-day.

Stuyvesant went to New Sweden to look after the interests of the West India Company on the Delaware. He visited Fort Nassau (see page 62), and, finding it too far up the river for any practical purpose, he had it demolished and caused another to be constructed on lands purchased of the Indians, just below the Swedish Fort Christina near the present site of New Castle. This he named Fort Casimer.

Stuyvesant's action brought on a crisis. Three years later, in 1654, the government of Sweden sent over a strong force under command of a new governor, John Rising. These appeared before Fort Casimer on Trinity Sunday. The Dutch commander had no means of defence, so he walked out, leaving the gates of the fort wide open. The Swedes occupied it, and called it Fort Trinity.

Recapture of Fort Casimer.—When the news of this event reached Stuyvesant he was expecting an attack from an English force, and was perplexed as to what course of action he should follow. The English did not come; Stuyvesant was therefore ordered by the states-general to re-take Fort Casimer, and entirely destroy the power of the Swedes on both sides of the Delaware. In September, 1655, the governor sailed from New Amsterdam for the Delaware with a fleet of seven ships and seven hundred men. The landing was made near Fort Christina. Stuyvesant placed a force between the two forts and demanded the surrender of Fort Casimer and all forts in the colony. The demand was soon complied with, and the rule of the Swedes on the Delaware was ended. The next day, Sunday, Dominie Megapolensis, who had accompanied

the expedition, preached a sermon to the troops, and Stuyvesant despatched an account of his bloodless victory to Manhattan and ordered a day of thanksgiving.

The burgher act.—When, in answer to the memorial of 1649, the states-general had directed the establishment of a burgher government at Manhattan, it was intended that this should be done at once.

Opposed as this concession was both by the directors of the West India Company, who saw in it their ultimate downfall, and by Governor Stuyvesant, who opposed it on principle, it was too much to suppose that it would be done while it could on any excuse be delayed. Three years had now passed during which the people had continued to plead for their rights. At last the company yielded, and in April, 1652, it was directed that the citizens be allowed to elect two burgomasters, five schepens, and a schout* “as much as possible after the custom in Amsterdam.”

These officers were to constitute a municipal court of justice, subject only to the right of appeal to the supreme court of the province. The concession for which the people had so long prayed had been granted, and there was general satisfaction over the event. The joy with which it was heralded was somewhat cooled, when on Candlemas day, February 2, 1653, the day the new government was to be established, Stuyvesant to whom self-government was an unknown term, himself

* A *burgomaster* was a governing magistrate; a *schepen* was an alderman, and a *schout* was a prosecuting attorney, a judge, and a sheriff.

named the municipal officers, and defined their duties. At the same time he informed those worthies that their existence did not in any way limit his powers.

Manhattan becomes the city of New Amsterdam, 1653.—A few days afterward, the newly appointed officers met and gave notice that their ordinary meetings would be held every Monday morning at nine o'clock, in the building hitherto called the "City Tavern and now known as the Stadt Huys or City Hall". A solemn form of prayers was adopted with which their meetings were thereafter to be opened, a record book was prepared, and the village of Manhattan had become the city of New Amsterdam.

The colonies prepare for war.—It is easy now to see how rapidly events were drifting toward the final overthrow of the Dutch power in America. In 1653 England and Holland were again at war. Stuyvesant proposed to the English colonies that the commercial relations which had existed between them and New Netherland should continue; but at the same time he prepared for possible war by strengthening the fortifications and compelling people of all classes to mount guard and be ready to defend the city day or night.

The New Englanders had received a report from some mischief-maker that Stuyvesant was inciting the Indians in their colonies to re-open hostilities. This was denied by the Indian chiefs, but the denial did not satisfy the English, and they determined that Stuyvesant must answer for himself. For this purpose a peace commission was appointed to go to New Amsterdam and question the governor, but at the

same time an expedition against the Dutch was made ready, "in case God called the colonists to war."

John Leverett, one of the peace commissioners, had been chosen to command the expedition on his return. It was evident that these commissioners were not anxious to bring about a settlement, and nothing came of their mission. After much parlying, and a warning to Governor Stuyvesant, not to "offer any injury to any English in these parts" the commission departed for Plymouth.

The general convention of 1653.—This meeting sprang from two causes: First, the contention between the Dutch and English on Long Island; second, opposition of all parties to what they were pleased to call "the arbitrary conduct of the governor".

It was the most important convention that had ever been held in New Netherland. It met at New Amsterdam, Dec. 10, 1653. Nineteen delegates were present from eight villages. The principal action of this convention was the preparation of an address setting forth their complaints, which may be summarized as follows:

1. The establishment of an arbitrary government is feared.

2. The provincial government does not protect the people against the savages.

3. Officers and magistrates are appointed without the consent of the people.

4. Old orders and proclamations of the director and council, of which the people are ignorant, are forced upon them.

1. Promised patents on which improvements have been made are delayed.

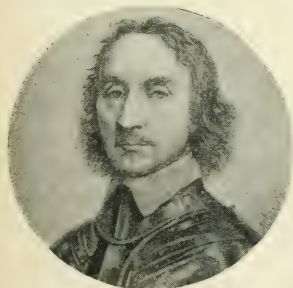
6. Large grants of lands have been made to favorites.

Stuyvesant's answer.—To this indictment Stuyvesant made a lengthy answer, showing how much had already been granted, charging the people with ingratitude, and telling them he derived his power "from God and the company". He then ordered them to disperse, on pain of his "highest displeasure".

The people again sent their complaints to the states-general, this time by the hand of Francois C. Bleeuw, an advocate.

Gradually small concessions were now made; grudgingly by the company, grumblingly by Stuyvesant; but until 1658 were the burghers and schepens appointed from the men selected by the municipality, and it was two years later still that the people were allowed to elect their own schout.

The New England colonies threaten war.—Most startling rumors now disturbed New Amsterdam. In



OLIVER CROMWELL, 1599-1658;
PROTECTOR 1653-1658

1663 it was reported that an English fleet would soon come to subdue New Netherland. The New England colonies were at once aroused and prepared to join in an expedition against the Dutch. They entrusted the command of their forces to Miles Standish and Captain Thomas Willett (the latter being one of the men

whom Stuyvesant had so generously chosen as his

agents to negotiate the Hartford treaty). There were grounds for this rumor, for at that very time the plot against Holland was being matured.

Cromwell had in 1654 made a treaty of peace with



CHARLES II, 1630-1685:
REIGNED 1661-1685

Holland and this had been observed by both countries until the accession of Charles II to the throne of his father in 1660. One of Charles's first acts was to send as a minister to The Hague George Downing, who had lived in Massachusetts, and had been educated at Cambridge. He was ambitious and unscrupu-

lous. He went to Holland fully charged with hate against the Dutch colony and intent on accomplishing its ruin. In the same year Charles added more stringent regulations to the enforcement of the first navigation act of Cromwell's administration, which aimed a direct blow at the commerce of Holland and her colonies. For two years a treaty of commercial alliance was in negotiation between the two countries. After many days this was signed at Whitehall, September 14, 1662.

The Dutch accepted the terms of this treaty in good faith and loyally carried out their part. King Charles, however, entirely ignoring this transaction, at once granted to Connecticut a charter which included all the territory from Narragansett Bay westward to the Pacific ocean. He thus set aside the treaty of Hartford (1650) and gave to Connecticut the very heart of New Netherland. For a year Stuyvesant carried on

negotiations with the New England colonies in a sincere effort to bring about a settlement, but to no purpose.

Trouble with the Esopus Indians.—The Dutch had for a year been carrying on war with the Indians about Esopus. These savages had given trouble before, but a peace had been made with them and for three years the village had prospered.

In June, 1663, with scarcely any warning they were again on the "warpath". They burned the village of Esopus, murdered a large number of the inhabitants, and carried away many women and children. A party of friendly Mohawks interfered and recovered a part of the captives. Then an expedition was sent out against the Indians and after four months of determined warfare they were at length subdued.

Stuyvesant asks advice.—Stuyvesant for the first time sought advice from the municipal authorities. They loyally supported him, at the same time declaring that they held the West India Company responsible for the troubles of the colony. They recommended that the city be completely fortified; that a loan of 30,000 guilders be raised; and that two hundred militia and one hundred and sixty soldiers be enlisted.

A temporary arrangement was patched up with the English in Connecticut and on Long Island, but the conditions were so serious that the burgomasters advised that a "Landt-tag" or assembly be called.

The "Landt-tag" of 1664. Close of Stuyvesant's rule.—On April 10, 1664, the delegates met in the city hall. Representatives appeared from New

Amsterdam, Rensselaerwick, Fort Orange, Breuckelen, Midwout, New Utrecht, New Haerlem, Bergen, and Staten Island. Governor Stuyvesant met with them. The assembly thought it the duty of the provincial government to protect the people against the Indians and "those malignant English". Stuyvesant informed them that the government of New Amsterdam had even exceeded its powers in that direction. He also stated that the company had already expended 1,200,000 guilders more than it had received.

The assembly being unable to suggest a remedy adjourned for one week. Meantime the states-general for the first time took action. That body promised intervention at London against the encroachments of the English. While this was in progress, a treaty was ratified with the Esopus Indians. Everything seemed to be so serene that the assembly again adjourned, and the governor proclaimed another day of thanksgiving. A month later, King Charles made his grant to his dissolute brother, the Duke of York.

Thus were the last days of Stuyvesant's administration mainly taken up with the petty cares of his office. The people of New Amsterdam still persistently demanded the possession of those political rights to which they felt themselves entitled, but the fulfillment of which he had as persistently obstructed.

SUMMARY.—THE LAST DUTCH GOVERNOR

1. Character of Governor Stuyvesant.
2. His duties. The condition of the colony.
3. The demands of the people.
4. The first popular meeting.

5. The "nine men"; how chosen; their duties.
6. Stuyvesant's intolerance.
7. The "memorial of 1649"; its demands.
8. Effect of memorial in Holland.
9. Action of the states-general.
10. Better regulations in New Amsterdam.
11. The Hartford treaty, 1650. Result of. The line drawn.
12. Fort Nassau and the Swedes. Fort Casimer.
13. Stuyvesant on the Delaware, 1655.
14. The burgher act; nature of.
15. Stuyvesant's action.
16. City of New Amsterdam, 1653.
17. *Dominie Megapolensis*.
18. The New England peace commission.
19. The convention of 1653. Object of.
20. The address; its nature.
21. Stuyvesant's answer.
22. King Charles II and New Netherland.
23. The Esopus Indians.
24. The Landt-tag of 1664; character and object of.
25. Its recommendations.

CHAPTER VIII

NEW YORK IN STUYVESANT'S TIME

The city, which then contained a population of less than a thousand, would not be recognized by the most loyal New Yorker of to-day. The houses were mainly clustered about the fort, rather than arranged on streets. Such streets as existed were narrow, crooked, unpaved, without sidewalks, and not lighted at night. Broadway was a country road, straying north from the battery, up hill and down dale, until it was lost in the forests which still covered most of the island. The fort was not a formidable affair, but was built for protection against too familiar Indian neighbors.

Bricks were still brought from Holland, and were so costly that for the most part the houses were constructed of wood, many of these having the imposing front and steep gables of yellow brick, after the fashion then common in Holland. The roofs of the poorer houses were of thatch, others of shingles, a few of tiles.

The front door was made of oak, often in two parts, an upper and a lower, and ornamented with a great brass knocker in the shape of a dog's or lion's head, which must be burnished every day.

Inside the house, the most prominent features were the sanded floors of hewn oak, the great yawning fireplaces, the heavy carved furniture, the high-posted beds, the tall Dutch clock, the great cupboards filled

with Delft ware,—never brought out except on state occasions. The most important room in the house was the great kitchen, really the living room of the family, where the women worked by day and where the men gathered to smoke at evening.

The people were simple in their tastes, their living was plain, their food wholesome and abundant. Labor was honorable, and idleness was accounted a crime. If the income was small, the expenditures were less. The women were particularly domestic; and every housewife was expected to know how to card wool and flax, to spin, to weave, to bake and brew.

There were few who could not read and write; education if not broad was general. Schools were common, and were free. President Draper says of the Dutch: "They were free, and had celebrated their greatest military victories by founding universities, and they had opened elementary schools for the rich and the poor together." Motley says of Holland: "It was a land where every child went to school; where almost every individual inhabitant could read and write."

Into New Netherland the minister and the schoolmaster came together. The people had few books, but the family bible and prayer-book were in every house.

All in all, it is probable that the early Dutch colonists left as marked and as healthful an impress on the character of New York as did the Puritans on the character of New England. To them the home was the foundation-stone of the State. In those early homes dwelt virtue, honesty, industry, frugality, and

loyalty; and it is these qualities in the hearts of her citizens, not great navies nor high battlements, that are the strength of a State.

The simple habits of the people gave them more leisure than their descendants have known, and this often gave the impression that they were indolent. Their housekeepers were as neat as those of New England, but their more quiet ways gave time for repose and sociability.

In their observance of the Sabbath they were quite as strict as were the Puritans, but in a different way. No work must be done and all must go to church; but they had no "Blue Laws", and could enjoy themselves, even on that day.

Christmas early became a deeply religious festival, but was at the same time a merry-making day. St. Nicholas's image was the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that came to New Netherland, and for him they named the first church they built.

Much was made of New Year's day. Visits were exchanged and receptions held, when cake and wine were offered to every guest.

In the church, a pew was set apart for the city officials. Early on Sabbath morning those good men gathered at the city hall, from which, preceded by the bell-ringer with their cushions, they went in solemn procession to the church.

The bell-ringer was, perhaps, the most useful man in town, as he certainly was one of the most important in appearance. He was a court official, the chorister and reader at church, the grave-digger and sometimes the schoolmaster; while in addition to these duties he

was a general waiter and factotum for the city magistrates. Those Dutch officials were serious men, and could no more approve a joke than could a Puritan minister. Their meetings were first opened with solemn prayer, and they then proceeded to levy taxes, impose fines, and lecture the governor.

Dutch tolerance.—In religious matters, the early Dutch acknowledged but one church, the “Reformed Church of Holland”, and but one ecclesiastical authority, the “Synod of Dort”, but in practice they tolerated all.

Until Stuyvesant’s time there was no proscription, and even he was rebuked for his interference. As a natural result, many who could not endure the strict Puritanical discipline of New England fled to New Amsterdam. Hither came Anabaptists and Quakers, Catholics and Huguenots, and all were made welcome.

New Amsterdam contained as great a mixture of races as of religions. While the Plymouth colony would not permit an Irishman even to land on their shores, he passed into New Amsterdam unquestioned. Father Jogues, who visited New Amsterdam at this time, said he had counted 18 languages among its residents.

The Waldenses.—It has been said that God sifted the old world to obtain seed with which to plant the new. It would seem that in the seventeenth century all the monarchs of Europe were insane in their efforts to drive from their possessions the people who were most needed here. The English Puritans came, and were followed almost immediately by the Walloons,

who may well be called the French "Pilgrims", for like the Puritans they fled from the country of their birth to find a refuge in Holland, and like them crossed the ocean to find a home in the American wilderness.

In 1657, hundreds of Waldenses, escaping from persecution, left the mountain valleys of Piedmont to find a welcome and a home in New Netherland. Many of these went to the Delaware, but others located on Staten Island and Long Island where their descendants have since remained.

The Huguenots.—The same description with change of name would answer for the Huguenots. They were French adherents to the cause of the Reformation, and as such were subjected to the severest persecution from 1560 to the promulgation of the "Edict of Nantes", in 1598. During these years hundreds of thousands of the very best citizens of France fled to England, Germany, Holland, the West Indies, and to New York and the southern colonies, while many thousands more had been put to death. From 1598 to 1685 they were allowed comparative peace and security, but in the latter year, Louis XIV revoked the famous edict. Again the fires of persecution blazed forth, again the exodus began and continued until France had lost fully one million of her very best people.

Many of these French Protestants located in New Netherland. They settled New Rochelle and other early towns, bringing with them, as the Waldenses had done, the church and the school, and names that, somewhat modified, are to-day found scattered all over our State.

New Netherland and New England.—It will not do to draw the inference that Dutch ideals were the best, for the tide of English immigration which came in later very materially changed the conditions there. It would no doubt be nearer the truth to say that the blending of the two peoples in the future metropolis of this hemisphere, by restraining the one and liberalizing the other, produced a more desirable, because a more rational type of civilization.

New England has produced a remarkable race of men, not because of her narrowness but in spite of it, and because of the character and environment of her early settlers. New Netherland produced a people different in almost every trait of character, but more in harmony with the lines along which our country has developed.

Why New Netherland failed as a Dutch colony.—New Netherland was a purely commercial enterprise, founded by a commercial company, for commercial purposes, and was governed from Holland for the benefit of the company that founded it. The people were always loyal to their fatherland, never to the corporation that ruled them; and of all the agents sent out as governors, not one secured the confidence of the people. The taxes paid by the colonists were heavy, and were neither voted by themselves nor paid out by their direction.

Personal enterprise was not fostered, for it would interfere with the company's gains. The common people were not in sympathy with the baronial rights given the patroons. The English colonies were for the most part purely English, but New Netherland

was cosmopolitan, the greater religious freedom there having united men of all nationalities. This last, an element of weakness then, has, in late years, contributed to make a State which has both fostered liberty and compelled prosperity.

SUMMARY

1. New York in Governor Stuyvesant's time. The houses, their furnishings, the people; education, customs; religious toleration.

2. Comparison between the Dutch and the New Englanders.

3. The Waldenses; origin, character, and emigration.

4. The Huguenots; origin, character, and emigration.

5. Why New Netherland failed.

CHAPTER IX

THE CRIME AGAINST HOLLAND

Charles II of England.—At this period, all Europe was on the brink of most bloody wars. Louis XIV, of whom it has been said “there was stuff enough in him to make four kings and an honest man”, was king of France, but he swayed one-half of Europe.



LOUIS XIV. 1638-1715
REIGNED 1643-1715

Among all who came under his influence there was not a meaner nor a more insincere monarch than Charles II of England. An exile and a wanderer for many years, he had at thirty been recalled and placed upon the throne. He brought with him no proper sense of his position, and his reign was the most execrable in the history of England.

James Duke of York.—There was at this time no real ministry in England. All her foreign affairs were managed by a council appointed by the king, while parliament was even worse than the king himself. Charles II had a brother, James Duke of York and Albany, afterward James II, who, although having more ability, was even more unscrupulous. His chief passion was a burning hatred for Holland.

The Dutch West India Company had one rival, the Royal African Company, and of this company James was governor.



JAMES II. 1633-1701
REIGNED 1685-1688

Several motives were behind the proposed overthrow of Dutch interests in America. The immediate excuse was the loss to the revenue of the English colonies by the smuggling practices of the Dutch.

Next, the Duke of York could pay a long standing grudge against the West India Company.

A third motive, which influenced the mind of James and in time governed the actions of Charles (who must be a partner, must sanction the crime and furnish the necessary force of English ships and sailors) was found in the colonial conditions of America.

France was the pioneer. She had pushed her way up the St. Lawrence, and planted her settlements thickly along its banks. England had prosperous colonies in Virginia, and along the New England coast. Between these, as a wedge, lay New Netherland, occupying by far the most advantageous portion of all. It boldly laid claim to all the coast from Cape Henlopen to Montauk Point, and was in a position to secure the lion's share of the inland trade with the natives. Charles II saw that the safety of the English possessions lay in connecting them all from Massachusetts Bay to the Potomac.

The claims of different nations by right of discovery

also conflicted. Spain, by right of Columbus's discoveries claimed it all. England claimed most of North America from the voyages of the Cabots. But occupancy as well as discovery had been held necessary to confer a valid right. James I in granting his patent in 1620, including all the territory between 40° and 48° of latitude, had in that charter explicitly stated that it was not to "include any territory actually possessed by any other Christian nation, prince, or estate," and thus he clearly excepted both New France and New Netherland.

No Englishman had entered the Connecticut river or the Delaware bay when Hudson's discoveries and Dutch occupancy were put forth as a valid claim to the territory of New Netherland, and for forty years the Dutch had been practically in undisputed possession.

Thus the case stood when Charles II was restored to the throne. He had no sympathy with the New England colonists; his restoration had been a serious disappointment to them. Sorely against their will they had acknowledged him king, yet Charles II did not hesitate to make use of the differences between these colonists and New Netherland, as one ground for the claim which he proposed to put forth. He was not seeking for truth, but for a suitable pretext to seize New Netherland.

Expedition against New Netherland.—At the risk of war with a friendly nation, in controvention to the charter granted to New England by James I, an expedition against New Netherland was ordered. The Duke was given a patent to appoint and discharge all

officers; to execute martial laws; to regulate trade, and to expel all persons living under his government without license. In fact, this patent created James a petty sovereign over the lives and property of a people who rightfully owed allegiance to another free and independent power.

Charles had no more title to these lands than had the devil to "all the kingdoms of the earth", but in those days "might made right", and Charles gave to brother, Duke of York, "all those lands and rivers from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay"*. The Duke lost no time in giving effect to his patent.

In August, 1664, four ships with 450 soldiers under command of Robert Nicolls were sent to enforce the claim. Governor Stuyvesant was thrown off his guard by a despatch from Holland informing him that no danger was to be apprehended from the expedition, as it had been sent out only "to settle the affairs of the English colonists, and to establish Episcopacy", which would be a benefit to the interests of New Netherland.

The English squadron anchored below the Narrows; communication with New Amsterdam was cut off, and several block houses were seized. Stuyvesant, hurriedly returning from an absence at Fort Orange, demanded of Nicolls what the invasion meant. His only reply was a demand for the surrender of the place.

* This included the whole of New Netherland and a part of Connecticut, which Charles had two years before confirmed to Winthrop and his associates.

This was accompanied by a proclamation declaring that all who would submit to his "majesty's government" should be "protected by his majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy their property." Stuyvesant kept these terms from the people and prepared to defend himself. A meeting of the burgomasters and citizens being called, the terms became known, and the people showed that they did not intend to stand by the governor. Indeed, some of them said the Dutch West India Company was not worth fighting for. The next day Governor Winthrop of Connecticut appeared and advised Stuyvesant to surrender.

It was evident that he stood alone. Men, women, and children flocked around and urged him to give up. His only answer was, "I would rather be carried out dead!" All his soldierly spirit rebelled at the thought of surrender. But dominies, schouts, burgomasters, schepens, and eighty-five of the principal citizens, among them his own son, joined in an appeal to him not to bring bloodshed upon the city, and at last the old veteran yielded. On the following Monday morning, August 26, 1664, Stuyvesant, at the head of his little garrison, marched down to the water side and embarked for Holland. The English flag was hoisted over Fort Amsterdam and the name was changed to Fort James. Nicolls was proclaimed "governor for the Duke of York", and it was directed that thereafter the city of New Amsterdam should be called NEW YORK.

The reduction of other settlements rapidly followed. Fort Orange soon capitulated, and its name was changed to Albany. The Swedish settlements on the

Delaware gave more trouble, but were finally subdued.

All this was done while England and Holland were at peace. Judged by all righteous standards, it was a monstrous national robbery, with hardly a parallel in modern history. Yet out of it all came, in process of time, a higher good not contemplated by those who wrought the crime; this was the final unification of all the American colonies in preparation for the great struggle with England, when should be formed a new nation, combining within its government all that was best in the constitutions of the old.

Governor Stuyvesant, after his return from Holland, where he answered every charge against him, settled upon his estate on East River. He lived to an advanced age. His remains lie in the venerable church of St. Marks in the City of New York*.

SUMMARY.—THE CRIME AGAINST HOLLAND

1. King Charles II. His character.
2. James Duke of York. His character.
3. Motives for the overthrow of Dutch authority in America.
4. Importance of New Netherland to England.
5. Charles's grant to the Duke.
6. Its conflict with the charter of Connecticut.
7. The expedition and its commander, 1664.
8. The surrender of New Netherland.
9. The dark side, the bright side, of the change.
10. Death of Stuyvesant.

* For a picture of his tombstone, see Hendrick's History, page 25.

PERIOD IV

CHAPTER X

NEW YORK A DUCAL PROVINCE

Governor Nicolls.—New Netherland having been formally surrendered to the English, the new provincial government, of New York was organized with Richard Nicolls as chief magistrate. In justice to the governor it should be said he proceeded wisely. He continued the courts which the Dutch had established and gradually founded English settlements on Long Island.

By the terms of the surrender he was bound only as follows: "All inhabitants of New Netherland were to be free denizens" and were to be secure in their property; any Hollander might come into the colony freely or return home and carry his property with him; intercourse with Holland was for six months to continue as heretofore; liberty of church and conscience was guaranteed; all present public records were to be respected; all inferior officers were to retain their present positions until the customary time for elections.

The citizens were required to take an oath of allegiance to the English king, which they were quite willing to do; the burgomasters consoling themselves by sending to the West India Company, as a sort of "fare-

well greeting", a letter giving an account of the change in their government, and ending as follows:

"Since we are no longer to depend on your honor's promises or protection, we, with all the poor, sorrowing and abandoned commonalty must fly to Almighty God, not doubting but he will stand by us in this sorely afflicting conjuncture."

The new government.—In February, 1665, the new municipal government was appointed by the retiring members. The burgomasters and schepens were all Dutch citizens, but out of compliment to the governor, they made Allard Anthony schout; while Nicolls, on his part named as the first mayor, Captain Thomas Willett, who had already been conspicuous in the affairs of the colony.

The Duke's laws.—In 1665 the governor called the council together and read to them what were thereafter known as the "Duke's Laws". The members of the council took it for granted that they were to be consulted in regard to this "code", but when any one proposed an amendment, he learned that he had been invited to hear the laws, not to amend them.

The "Duke's Laws" were compiled chiefly from those in use in other English colonies. They covered a very wide field, applying to every occupation and crime. They regulated the administration of estates, methods of worship, the relation of master and servant, the conveyance of real estate, and prescribed days of fasting and thanksgiving. They ordered the punishment for assault, defamation, forgery, "lying and false news", and defined twelve other crimes which were to be punishable by death.

They also established four principles which have remained to this day a part of the fundamental law of the State:

1. Equal taxation.
2. Right of trial by jury.
3. The obligation of military duty.
4. Freedom of religious worship.

Separation of New Jersey.—Before the Duke of York was in actual possession of his newly and easily acquired territory, he granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, two royal favorites, the land within the present boundaries of New Jersey, thus separating the colonies established there from the future State of New York.

Governor Nicolls recalled, 1668.—The task which Nicolls had undertaken was a very difficult one. In his honest efforts to win the regard of the Dutch, he offended many of the English citizens, and they constantly wearied him with complaints.

When he had governed New York four years, he wrote to both the King and the Duke, begging to be relieved of an office "which", he said, "he had in his ignorance undertaken, which had kept him more busy than any former position, and which had drawn from his purse every dollar he possessed."

His request was granted. In the same year Francis Lovelace was commissioned to succeed him. England and Holland had been at war during almost the entire period of Nicolls's administration, yet he had so conducted himself that he had won the personal regard of

the people and they expressed much regret at his departure*.

Witchcraft in New York.—While Nicolls was governor, there occurred the only recorded trial for witchcraft within our State. This was in 1665. Ralph Hull and Mary his wife were charged with “certain detestable acts commonly called ‘witchcraft’, whereby two or three persons have lost their lives.”

The duke’s laws did not mention the crime of witchcraft, so the unfortunate couple were indicted for “murder by means of witchcraft”. They were tried by a jury of twelve (one of whom was Jacob Leisler, so prominent in later provincial matters). The verdict of the jury was that they found “some suspicions of what the woman is charged with but not enough to take away her life”. They declared the man not guilty and required him to “give security for his wife’s good behavior thereafter”.

Holland’s protest.—The high-handed proceedings of England could have but one outcome; that was war. New Netherland had been a proprietary colony owned and governed by the West India Company. The states-general had taken almost no part in its manage-

* During Nicolls’s term of office one matter very important to New York was settled. Connecticut claimed the eastern half of Long Island. Charles had by name included the whole of it in his gift to the Duke. In 1664 Nicolls secured the appointment of a commission to meet one from Connecticut, by which all the history of that island was carefully reviewed. The commission decided that Long Island should go to New York.

ment since the day when, in 1621, it had given that company its sweeping charter.

At the time it lost these American possessions, the West India Company was practically bankrupt. Nevertheless its directors at once complained to the states-general, and this body, through its ministers at the court of St. James, protested against the robbery as a "notorious infraction of the treaty just concluded". The king could give no truthful answer to the charge unless he confessed the wrong. This a monarch of his character could hardly be expected to do. So he wrote his creature at The Hague, Downing, to say to the Dutch that he was not accountable to them for what he did.

On receipt of this impudent answer, word was at once despatched to Commodore De Ruyter, who commanded the Dutch squadron on the coast of Africa to reduce all English possessions there, and on his way home "to do as much damage as possible on said nation anywhere".

The Duke of York was admiral of the English navy. In the first engagement with the Dutch he gained an important victory. Returning to London in great triumph, he had a medal struck off which bore the inscription, "*I claim the four seas.*"

At this point, Louis of France undertook the difficult role of peacemaker. To the Dutch, he frankly acknowledged the justice of their claim to New Netherland. To Charles, he proposed that it should be restored to Holland in exchange for certain small islands which had been taken from him. This proposi-

tion Charles spurned, and all efforts for peace were ended.

The triple alliance, 1666.—Holland now formed an alliance with France and Sweden against England, and once more war raged on all the duke's "Four Seas". Some of the greatest naval battles of history were fought, in which England's fleets were nearly destroyed, so that Charles was willing to treat for peace.

On July 31, 1667, the famous treaty known as the "Peace of Breda" was signed, in which France secured the lion's share of all concessions and from which Holland gained little except a brief respite from war.

SUMMARY—NEW YORK A DUCAL PROVINCE

1. Nicolls the first English governor, 1664.
2. Terms of the surrender.
3. Character of the new government.
4. The Duke's Laws, origin of.
5. Four principles established.
6. Royal grants; New Jersey.
7. The governor's complaint and recall.
8. Witchcraft in New York.
9. The Long Island commission.
10. Holland's protest to England.
11. English reply.
12. The Duke's Four Seas.
13. The Triple Alliance, 1666.
14. The Peace of Breda.

CHAPTER XI

NEW YORK ONCE MORE UNDER THE DUTCH

Peace of Breda broken, 1670.—A secret treaty between Charles II and Louis XIV made in 1670 again united England and France for the ruin of Holland. Her fleets were defeated and her territory invaded by the armies of the allied monarchs. It was then that William, the valiant young Prince of Orange was made commander-in-chief and by his stirring appeals, once more gave heart to the people of Holland. Then it was that the sluices were opened. Holland again became a sea, and the allied armies were compelled to retreat. Then, too, occurred that memorable battle off the mouth of the Helder, when 75 Dutch ships engaged 150 French and English vessels in a contest which lasted all day. Within hearing of the guns, the people of Holland met in their churches and prayed for victory, till the allied fleets had been defeated and Holland had won her second independence,—the right to navigate all the seas unmolested.

It was while these great events were taking place that a Dutch fleet under Cornelius Evartson had been sent to the West Indies with orders to “harass the English in those parts”.

Having completed his work, he sailed for Virginia, when it was suggested that now was a good time to recover New Netherland.

A Dutch fleet at New York, 1673.—In a few days this fleet with 1600 men on board was inside Sandy Hook. The next day it appeared before New York and demanded its surrender. The governor, Lovelace, was absent on a visit to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut and Captain John Manning was in command. He promptly sent for the governor, beat an alarm, and called for volunteers to defend the fort. Few came and some of the Dutch even spiked the guns in front of the city hall. In his extremity, Manning sent to inquire the purpose of the Dutch commander. "We have come to claim our own, and our own we will have," was the ready reply.

The Dutch re-take New York, 1673.—Soon 600 men were landed above the town, where they were joined by 400 Dutch citizens in arms, who encouraged them to storm the fort. They were preparing to do this when Manning offered to surrender, provided his troops were allowed to march out with the honors of war. This was granted. The English marched out; the Dutch marched in. Stuyvesant was avenged. The wrongs of the fatherland had been righted. New Netherland had been re-taken in honorable warfare.

The West India Company having had no part in the matter, the colony was no longer a proprietary province, but part and parcel of the Dutch Republic.

Rightly its captors in defining its bounds included just what had been theirs at the time of its loss, not a foot more, except the eastern portion of Long Island. They thus respected the treaty of 1650. The joyful cry, "The fatherland" was again heard. The name "New Netherland" was restored. New York city

was called New Orange, and Fort James was named Fort William Hendrick in honor of the Prince of Orange. A new government was organized with Anthony Colve of Zealand at its head as governor. Nicholas Bayard, the old city clerk, was restored to his office. All persons were declared released from their oaths of allegiance to the English crown. The commonalty were required again to nominate men from among whom a council might be selected.

The government of New Orange having been settled, a force was sent up the river to obtain the surrender of Esopus and Albany, and soon peace reigned over the entire colony.

Fate of Governor Lovelace.—Governor Lovelace soon returned, and was at once seized by his creditors and put into prison. He was not detained long, for he found means to pay his debts and was released. Soon after he took his leave for England*.

Estimate of the act.—It has often been said that the re-conquest of New Netherland by the Dutch was “but an incident in the progress of a bitter war”. This is true. It was done by the Dutch fleet entirely without orders from the home government; but had there been telegraphic communication in those days between the two continents, it is easy to see that the

* On his departure he wrote to Governor Winthrop, “I am now intending for England with all the convenience I may. Would you be curious to know what my losses amount to? I can in short resolve you. It was my all whichever I had been collecting; too great to misse in this wilderness ”

subsequent history of a whole nation might have been changed by this "incident" *.

The rule of Colve was active, but brief. The dream of a Dutch Republic in the New World was never realized. The European war came to a sudden end by the treaty of Westminster. With the ambitious Louis of France and the unscrupulous Charles II of England in league against her, Holland's case was hopeless.

The treaty of Westminster.—In vain Holland made alliances with Spain and Germany. She was finally forced to treat with England on the basis of "mutual restoration", and two months after the capture, and one month before the news had reached Holland, February 9, 1674, a treaty had been signed that compelled her to surrender New Netherland to England †.

SUMMARY

1. The peace broken and the war that followed.
2. Cornelius Evartson and his voyage.
3. Recapture of New Netherland, 1673.

* Dr. Colden says: "I am informed that when the Dutch ships were under Staten Island, they had no thought of attempting the re-capture of New York, but only to take on wood and water; but being invited by the burghers and informed also of the weakness of the place, they proceeded to take the fort."

† The fort and city were taken by the Dutch July 30, 1673. The province was resigned to Andros by Colve November 10, 1674.

4. Effect of—change of names, etc.
5. Fate of Governor Lovelace.
6. Governor Colve.
7. The treaty of Westminster, 1674, nature and effect of.

CHAPTER XII

UNDER THE ENGLISH AGAIN

Sir Edmund Andros, 1674.—The first English governor sent out after the restoration was Edmund Andros. He had already been governor of Virginia, was a man of great energy, and was educated in language and art. He had great capacity for statesmanship, and was ready to serve his master, the duke.

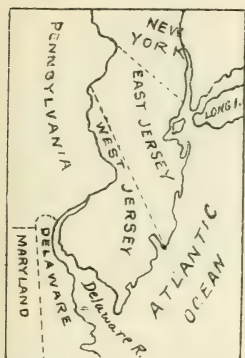


SIR EDMUND ANDROS, 1637-1714

Early in his administration a difficulty arose. The best English lawyers insisted rightly that the forcible capture of New York by the Dutch had extinguished the title of the duke. A new charter was necessary. Charles, therefore, issued a new grant conveying the same territory as before, with absolute powers of government which did not in any way refer to any preceding grants he had made. By this very simple process the duke once more came into possession of the province of New Jersey so recently sold to his friends, Berkeley and Cartaret.

The duke soon found himself in a strange position in regard to this grant. The commission to Andros comprehended New Jersey, hence Cartaret could claim

no power or authority to govern. Berkeley, seeing he



was to be cheated, quietly sold his half for £1,000. Cartaret stood near the king and soon found means to compel the Duke to make a new charter, re-instating him as proprietor of one-half the province, known as East Jersey*.

The duke's instructions to Andros were to choose a council, not exceeding ten, who should serve during his pleas-

ure and assist in the administration of the government, to retain in force the laws published by Nicolls, and to see that no one was molested in the free exercise of his religious privileges.

Under such circumstances, Andros assumed control of the government. The people had now become accustomed to the change. By the duke's instructions, Andros was to pacify every one so far as possible, but he was especially directed to collect sufficient duties "that the duke *might be sure of a good revenue therefrom*".

Andros demanded from the burghers a new oath of allegiance to the king. This they refused to take unless it should be accompanied by a confirmation of religious freedom. Andros in turn declined to grant this, and the petitioners were promptly put in prison

*The province was divided by a line running from Little Egg Harbor on the coast to a point in latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ on the Delaware river, a line which may still be traced in the geography of New Jersey.

on charge of "disturbing the government and endeavoring a rebellion". They were released only upon giving heavy bonds.

Renewal of treaty with the Iroquois, 1675.—



ROBERT LIVINGSTON

Governor Andros during this year visited the Mohawks and received from them the name of Corlear. The treaty of peace with the Iroquois was renewed, and a local board of commissioners for Indian affairs was appointed, of which Robert Livingston was a member.

"Corlear" they told him "was a man of good dispositions and esteemed deare amongst us." This was a reference to Arendt Van Curler.

NOTE.—During Andros's term William Penn secured his charter to the State which bears his name. At this time, James, the duke, claimed Delaware, and Penn's charter was made to begin "twelve miles west of New Castle Town". This gave Delaware its peculiar circular border on the north.

Thomas Dongan's administration.—In 1682, Andros was recalled; and after one year, during which Anthony Brockholls was commander-in-chief of the colony, Thomas Dongan, an Irishman was sent out as governor. He had been in the service of the king of France, at the head of a royal Irish regiment, and it

was thought that his experience would be of value in the present crisis, when the peaceful relations between Canada and New York were in momentary danger of interruption*.



THOMAS DONGAN. 1634-1715

government. The good offices of William Penn, who had considerable influence with the duke, led him to yield to the requests of the people. The desire for a voice in the government was the one thing upon which both the Dutch and the English colonists were agreed.



WILLIAM PENN. 1644-1718

Accordingly the duke directed Dongan on his arrival in New York, to call together Frederick Phillips, an Englishman, who had been one of Andros's council; Stephen Van Cortlandt, a Dutchman who had served with Colve; and other "most

* Dongan at once took steps to rid the province of Frenchmen who had come in with the Jesuit missionaries. He plainly told the Indians that the missionaries might remain, but the Frenchmen must go. Indians rarely do things by halves and they sent both away.

eminent inhabitants, not to exceed ten in all, as a council." These councilors were to have freedom of debate and "a vote on all matters of public concern".

With the aid and advice of this council Dongan was also to issue writs to the proper officers in all parts of his dominions for the election of "a general assembly, not to exceed eighteen of all the freeholders, by the persons whom they shall choose to represent them." This assembly was to *consult* with the governor and his council "what laws are fit and necessary to be made and established for the good of the people of the colony".

The duke further declared that this general assembly should have liberty to meet, to debate and to propose such laws as they deemed best for the colony; and also that if such laws appeared for the general good and *not prejudicial to his interests* he would sanction them. Moreover, such laws passed by the assembly were to be "binding until he had signified his disapproval".

First meeting of the general assembly, 1683.
—The 17th of October, 1683, is memorable in the history of New York, for on that day convened the first general assembly, a body actually elected by the people, and free to execute legislative functions within a very limited sphere.

The assembly consisted of 17 members. It sat three weeks and enacted 14 laws. These laws were introduced, were read three times, were voted upon by the assembly and were then assented to by the governor and his council.

The most important measure was "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by His] Royal High-

ness to the inhabitants of New Yorke and its dependencies." This charter was a remarkable document. It granted to every freeholder in the province entire freedom of casting his vote "without let or hindrance". It guaranteed entire freedom of conscience "to all peaceable persons who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ", and declared that no tax or imposition whatever should be levied on any of His Majesty's subjects "but by the act of the governor, his council, and 'The People met in General Assembly'". Here was established the great principles of taxation only "by consent". Here came in the term "The People". Prophetic words! words soon to be objected to by the king as being quite too distinct a recognition of their rights.

New York divided into wards.—New York city was now divided into wards for the election of aldermen. A charter making Albany a city was granted in 1686, and Peter Schuyler was first mayor.

Erection of counties.—The New York assembly, in Nov., 1683, passed a law to "divide the province and dependencies into shires and counties." Ten counties were established: New York, Westchester, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk*.

The duke becomes King James II, 1685.—The fourteen laws enacted by the first general assembly had been submitted to the duke for his approval. Thirteen of them he had approved, but the most coveted one,

* Cornwall and Duke's counties were two additional counties outside the province of New York.

the "Charter of Liberties", had been held back. In February, 1685, King Charles suddenly died, and the Duke of York ascended the throne as James II. His rights as proprietor of New York were now merged in his sovereignty as king. Step by step, James now undid what as proprietor he had so well begun. He revoked the "Charter of Liberties", objected to the expression "The people met in general assembly", and entirely restricted the freedom of the press.

Freedom of religious worship was not entirely destroyed, but Dongan was directed *to especially foster* the Church of England.

Dongan dissolves the assembly.—In September, 1686, Dongan for "weighty reasons" prorogued the assembly until March, 1687. Meantime, having received additional instructions from King James, in January, 1687, he issued an order permanently dissolving it.

This was a most terrible responsibility, and could the governor and his king have forseen the final results of the act, they would have recoiled from it. So early as 1572, Hollanders had laid down for themselves and all liberty-loving people the principle that, "Only the State can tax itself". And the same principle having once obtained a foothold in this continent, was destined in God's providence to remain and obtain here its fullest and freest expression.

Governor Dongan's recall.—By this act all government reverted to Governor Dongan and his council. To his credit, let it be said the governor used this power more wisely than was expected. He thoroughly looked after the commercial interests of the colony, and it

prospered during the six years of his administration.

As a loyal servant of King James, he endeavored to carry out all his instructions; as an honest Christian gentleman he did his best to protect the people in their rights. This was too much for any man to attempt successfully. In 1688 he was recalled.

SUMMARY

1. Sir Edmund Andros governor.
2. The duke's new charter. Reason for.
3. Fate of New Jersey. East and West Jersey.
4. Andros's instructions.
5. Andros and the burghers.
6. The first Indian commission.
7. Thomas Dongan governor; character and services. His instructions.
8. Dongan and the French.
9. Dongan's council.
10. The general assembly; its choice, and duties.
11. The work of Dongan's assembly.
12. The Charter of Liberties and Privileges. Its nature.
13. New York City divided into wards. Its first mayor.
14. The first ten counties.
15. Fate of the Charter of Liberties.
16. Death of King Charles, 1685.
17. James, as king. His first acts.
18. Dissolution of the assembly. Reasons for.
19. Cardinal principle of government in Holland. Effect of dissolution.
20. Recall of Dongan.

CHAPTER XIII

UNDER THE ENGLISH, 1688-1691

The great royal province.—New York and New Jersey were now with all New England erected into one grand, royal province, and Sir Edmund Andros was commissioned vice-regal governor of the whole, with Captain Francis Nicholson as lieutenant-governor.

The great seal of New York made in the previous year, and bearing the legend, "*Aliusq. et Idem,*" *other, yet the same*, was broken, and in its place was substituted the great seal of New England, thereafter to be used throughout all his majesty's colonies*.

New York was now a city of about 18,000 people, in every respect the metropolis of the west. The people, generally, resented the union with New England, and were uncertain as to what the future held in store for them. The one desire upon which they were all united was that their "Charter of Liberties" might be restored to them. In this they were to be disappointed. Governor Andros remained but a short time, when he returned to Boston, leaving lieutenant-governor Nicholson with his council in charge of affairs in New York.

Character and plans of King James.—James's instruction to Dongan had been to foster the Church

* This seal was inscribed, "*Nunquam libertas gratior extat.*"

of England in every way possible. James himself, however, soon renounced Protestantism, and became a Catholic. His zeal for this new faith provoked the remark from the pope, "This foolish king will yet destroy the little Catholicism that remains in England." In New York he tried to keep up the double character and pleased no one. Dongan, before his recall, had made a vigorous protest against French invasions into the territory of the Iroquois. James, subservient to the King of France, ordered Dongan to avoid all differences with the Canadian French, yet he wished to retain intact all his American possessions. It had been for the double purpose of uniting all the colonies against French aggression, and also that a more imposing front might be presented to Canada, that he had joined all his American colonies under one government. At the same time, he was plotting for the overthrow of religious liberty in both continents.

The English revolution of 1688.—James's writ-



WILLIAM III. 1650-1702
REIGNED. 1689-1702



MARY II. 1662-1694
REIGNED. 1689-1694

ten declaration of "complete religious tolerance" was followed by the trial and imprisonment of the bishops

who refused to bow to his decrees. On the day of their trial the English people invited William of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, whose wife, Mary, was King James's daughter, to come to England as their sovereign. He accepted the responsibility and on the fifth of November, 1688, landed at Torbay with a military force, supported by a strong fleet under command of Cornelius Everston, who had led the avenging fleet to New York fifteen years before. His banner bore the words, "I will maintain the Protestant religion and the liberties of England."

James now temporized. He tried to conciliate the nation he had offended. He offered to make terms with William. It was in vain. The time had now arrived for James to become, as his brother Charles had been, a wanderer. He abdicated the throne and fled to France. The fate of Andros being wrapped up in that of his master, his fall, also, was sudden and complete.

Coronation of William and Mary.—William of Orange did not immediately assume the crown. Declaring that he had come only to deliver England, he waited until the constituencies of the kingdom met in convention at Westminster.

This convention defined the powers of their sovereign and then settled the English crown on William, Prince, and Mary, Princess of Orange. So was the English revolution accomplished.

Andros imprisoned, 1689.—Lieutenant-governor Nicholson was busy putting the affairs of New York colony in order when news of the English revolution reached him.

He immediately dispatched word to Andros at Boston informing him of what had happened, but at almost the same time he received the news of Andros's imprisonment by the people. The situation was directly favorable to disorder, and disorder came.

Jacob Leisler.—There was living in New York at this time a German, Jacob Leisler, a prosperous liquor-dealer, who had years before been one of the jury before whom New York's only case of witchcraft had been tried (see page 106).

He was connected by marriage with Nicholas Bayard and Stephen Van Cortlandt, but he had quarrelled with both these men. He was a man of strong will but narrow mind, and knowing that William had been proclaimed king in England, he thought he might gain some personal advantage if the same proclamation should be made in New York.

The orders of the king that all present officers were to be continued did not reach New York until Leisler had gone too far to retract. Seizing the fort with the company of which he was captain and soon being re-enforced by other companies of militia, he held against all comers, declaring that he would surrender the fort only to a proper representative of William and Mary. Meantime Philip Van Cortlandt and Bayard, members of the council, having received a copy of the king's orders, called together the city authorities and made the proclamation in proper form. Had Governor Nicholson possessed sufficient courage and remained at his post, all might have gone well; but, being timid, he fled to England, leaving the field to the two parties who, each in a different way, were try-

ing to accomplish the same ends,—establish the authority of the new monarchs, and incidentally better their own prospects.

Two parties.—The common people gathered about Leisler, and he was sustained by the militia. Around Bayard and Van Cortlandt gathered the higher classes*.

A “Committee of Safety”, ten men, evidently of Leisler’s appointment, was created. They made Leisler “captain of the fort”, and invested him with the powers of chief magistrate. In possession of the fort and the funds, which were kept there, Leisler now with a flourish of trumpets proclaimed William and Mary lawful sovereigns of the colony.

Bayard and his party then retired to Albany, and making the same proclamation, set up a government there. So it came about that there were in New York two rival governments, each professing to be loyal to William and Mary, and each possessing about the same claims to authority.

Colonel William Sloughter made governor.—While this was taking place in New York the fugitive Nicholson had reached England and reported. The necessity for a properly accredited governor was seen, and the king appointed to the place, Colonel William Sloughter, a man destitute of every qualification needed in the critical condition of affairs in the colony. He was a drunkard, was avaricious, and was deplorably lacking in judgment. In fact more could be said of his vices than of his virtues. To make the situation

* The former were called “Democrats”, the latter “Aristocrats”.

still worse, a large number of Huguenot families had just escaped from France and settled in New York, and it was believed that the designs of the French then invading the colony included the capture of the city and the massacre of these immigrants.

The bishop of London endeavored to secure authority for the government of Leisler, in order that these French designs might be frustrated, but he was refused. London merchants appealed to the king to despatch a force to protect New York.

This William dared not do, for the exiled James had already landed in Ireland and threatened England.

Leisler proclaims himself lieutenant-governor.—While Slougher lingered in London, orders were dispatched directing that the oldest member of the council should assume charge of the government. These papers Leisler captured, and immediately issued a manifesto declaring that he had been appointed lieutenant-governor.

Thus matters continued, Leisler assuming more and more authority and inflicting cruelties on all against whom he harbored a grudge.

It was at this time that the French invaded the State, burned Schenectady, and threatened Albany*.

An attempt to unite all the colonies in a war on Canada failed. Leisler refused to unite with any who did not recognize his authority as lieutenant-governor.

A colonial congress, 1690.—The situation became so critical that Leisler issued a call for a colonial congress to meet in New York. Thus it happened that

*See King William's War.

the first colonial congress that ever met in the New World convened in New York, May 1st, 1690, at the call of a usurping governor.

To this congress all the northern colonies except Rhode Island sent delegates, and she promised to do her share in whatever was undertaken. Even the rival government at Albany under the pressure of imminent danger relented and sent delegates. This was practically an acknowledgement of the authority of Leisler.

This congress agreed to raise a land force of 850 men to meet the French invasion, while Leisler, on his part, fitted out a small fleet to operate against Quebec. The land expedition went no farther than Lake Champlain and accomplished nothing, while the naval force soon returned.

Leisler's career.—Leisler's tyranny rendered him daily more odious, and discontent became general. In December, 1690, word came that the new governor was on his way to the colony. He sailed in September, but was six months in making the voyage. Major Richard Ingoldsby was in command of one of the ships, and he was first to reach New York. Hardly had he dropped anchor in the bay when Leisler's enemies were on board his ship, laying their complaints before the major. He had no authority to act for the governor, but being the highest royal officer now in the port he sent a subordinate to Leisler, demanding possession of the fort in the king's name, saying nothing however in recognition of Leisler's authority as lieutenant-governor.

Here was a dilemma. Leisler had seized the fort in

the king's name, yet he refused to surrender it to one of the king's officers*.

With intention to protect himself, Leisler now issued a manifesto stating that Sloughter had been appointed governor and professing himself ready to surrender the fort and his authority to the governor when he should arrive.

Weeks, even months passed and the governor did not appear. Leisler's unfortunate temper now drove him to more folly. Ingoldsby attempted to enter the fort with his command, when Leisler fired on the king's troops. The fire was returned and several on both sides were killed.

Governor Sloughter arrives, 1691.—That night Governor Sloughter arrived and Leisler's fate was sealed. He with his son-in-law Milborne and six others were arrested, tried for high treason, and sentenced to be hanged.

All except Leisler and Milborne were pardoned. These two were executed with all the cruelty of the times. Leisler died forgiving his enemies; his son-in-law, Milborne, with his latest breath accused them of implacable cruelty.

The character of Leisler.—Writers differ widely as to the character of Jacob Leisler. He has been alternately exalted as a patriot and denounced as a traitor. The truth would seem to be that he was a well-meaning man, defective in judgment, and espec-

* In justice to Leisler it should be said that the demand for the surrender of his authority was not accompanied by any proper written order from the king, nor from Governor Sloughter.

ially unfortunate in the friends and advisors by whom he surrounded himself.

In later years parliament ordered the restoration of Leisler's property to his family, and exonerated the conduct of his administration.

SUMMARY

1. The great Royal Province; New York, New England, and New Jersey; Governor Andros; Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson.

2. Effect on the people of New York.

3. Character and plans of King James.

4. Reason for union of colonies.

5. English Revolution of 1688.

6. Coronation of William and Mary.

7. Andros in prison; flight of Nicholson.

8. Jacob Leisler; his character.

9. Career of Leisler in New York.

10. The "two parties" and their leaders.

11. Leisler's "committee of safety".

12. Leisler's colonial congress; object; action of.

13. The new governor; his non-arrival; effect of.

14. Character of Governor Sloughter.

15. The coming of Ingoldsby.

16. Conflict with Leisler.

17. Arrival of Sloughter, 1691; the fate of Leisler.

18. Estimates of Leisler's character.

CHAPTER XIV

UNDER THE ENGLISH, 1691-1702

Governor Sloughter's administration.—King William's instructions to Governor Sloughter did not promise a government very much more liberal than the preceding ones had been. Indeed, in religious matters, it was even more narrow. Papists were excepted in the clause which otherwise granted liberty of conscience, and in the council which he named not a Catholic was included. He did however allow the people to be represented in an assembly which was called soon after he had secured possession of the fort* and the government of the city.

The first royal assembly.—The first general assembly ever to convene by direct authority of the crown met on April 9, 1691. It consisted of seventeen members and it passed fourteen laws. It reaffirmed, substantially, the old "Charter of Liberties", but illiberally, again, omitted Catholics from its benefits†.

From this time for many years, New York had constant changes in her government.

In a century preceding the Revolution, there were

* Governor Sloughter named the fort "Fort William Henry", in honor of his sovereign.

† Like King James, King William was afraid of this charter and disallowed it.

no less than 33 of these governors coming and going as in a play, with scarcely time to set in motion any orderly condition of affairs. Governor Sloughter died in July, 1691, mourned by no one. He had made no friends and had incurred the enmity of the whole Leislerian party, now strong in the colony.

Governor Fletcher, 1691.—Governor Fletcher is described by early writers as a “man of strong passions but of inconsiderable talents”. He certainly was not fitted to govern the colony in its divided and threatened condition.

In his administration of affairs he had two ruling motives: to establish the Church of England, and to enrich himself. In one matter, he availed himself of the assistance of Major Peter Schuyler of Albany, who had almost unlimited influence with the Iroquois. Under Schuyler's management they remained the firm allies of the English as they had



PETER SCHUYLER, 1657-1724

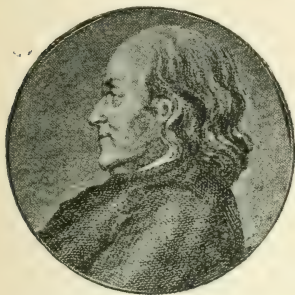
been of the Dutch before them.

The first printing press was set up in New York in 1693 by William Bradford*, a Quaker from Philadelphia.

Soon after Bradford was established in New York a journeyman printer called on him and asked for work. Bradford did not need him, but gave him a

*In 1725 he published the first newspaper in the colony.

letter to his son in Philadelphia, to which town the printer departed on foot. This was Benjamin Franklin, and thus were his services lost to New York and transferred to Pennsylvania.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1706-1790

The Earl of Bellomont, 1695.—In 1695 Fletcher was succeeded in the office of governor by Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont. The earl found plenty of trouble awaiting him. As he frankly told the assembly, his predecessor had left him as a legacy “a divided people, an empty purse, a few almost naked soldiers, not half as many as the king had been paying for, and the fort and governor’s house in ruins”.

He promised there should be no further misapplication of public money; that he would pocket none of it himself nor allow others to do so; and that he would try to find some way of reconciling their differences and providing against abuse in elections.

On his arrival, Governor Bellomont had found Count Frontenac still waging war on the Iroquois. He sent Colonel John Schuyler and Domine Dellius to Canada to notify the count of the treaty of Ryswick, to demand a cessation of hostilities and to ask for an exchange of prisoners,—“whether christians or Indians”. The old count refused to exchange any New York Indians on the ground that they were all French subjects. To this claim Governor Bellomont made a

bold answer: "If it is necessary, I will arm every man in the provinces under my government to redress any injury you may perpetrate against *our Indians*." Further, he threatened to retaliate by enforcing the law against any Jesuit priest found in the colony. While these negotiations were pending, Frontenac died and the Indians were exchanged.

Fraudulent land grants.—An act of justice which deserves special mention was Governor Bellomont's recommendation to the English government that certain large grants of land on the Mohawk and Hudson rivers, which were obtained during Fletcher's administration, should be vacated. One of these grants had been obtained by Domine Dellijs, a clergyman at Albany, another by Nicholas Bayard. It was ordered that these tracts should go back to the Indians to whom they rightfully belonged. By subsequent purchase these lands became the property of the crown, and were opened to settlement.

Nothing in Bellomont's administration did more for the future State than the measure by which this magnificent valley was reserved to actual settlers, who soon occupied it.

French interference.—The French still continued to meddle with the Iroquois. This was so largely due to the Jesuits that the governor persuaded the assembly to pass a law for hanging every Jesuit priest who should come voluntarily into the province*.

*It sounds very strange to our ears, but to Governor Bellomont and the assembly of New York, 200 years ago, the acts of these priests seemed a part of the French plan to wrest from the colony of New York a

The efforts to suppress piracy.—In these times private armed vessels, licensed and unlicensed, roved the seas and robbed as they had opportunity.

Some had commissions from James II; others from William III; many had no commissions, but committed piracy and murder for emolument. The ships of any nation were rifled and burned, those of England as well as others, and the English government now began to consider how to suppress piracy.

The English navy could not at that time spare a ship for the purpose, so a private vessel was purchased by an association of prominent Englishmen, together with Robert Livingston and Governor Bellomont of New York.

The sailing of Captain Kidd.—A competent commander was needed. Livingston knew the right man, and on his recommendation he was engaged. William Kidd had commanded a privateer against the French, and while thus employed had in an engagement once done the English government good service. He was

large part of its territory. In that light the law becomes a political rather than a religious measure.

The following is the act:

“WHEREAS, divers Jesuits, priests and popish missionaries, have of late come and for Some time have had their residence in the remote parts of this Province &c. &c, who by their wicked and subtle insinuations Industiously labor to Debauch Seduce and withdraw the Indians from their due obedience unto his most Sacred ma'ty, &c &c, therefore, be it enacted &c. that any Jesuit, Seminary Priest, Missionary or other Spiritual or Ecclesiasticall made or Ordained by any Authority power or Jurisdiction derived Challenged or p'tended from the pope or See of Rome &c &c—who shall continue or abide remain or come into this province shall be Accounted an incendiary and disturber of the public peace and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetuall imprisonment.”

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conveniently commissioned as a "privateer against the French and to capture pirates in the Indian seas and elsewhere".

He took command of the "*Adventure*", left England in April, 1696, and going to New York recruited his crew up to 155 men.

Now Captain William Kidd was a man who did not need to be told the value of such a commission as he held and such endorsement as he had been given. He promised his crew that he would "load the ship with gold and silver", and they should all be rich men. Of course he went to fight pirates, but he could not always distinguish pirate ships from others,—at least he did not; and frequently he landed and pursued his occupation on shore. He captured one English ship, and though its captain offered 30,000 rupees ransom, it was refused.

After many adventures abroad, he came to Long Island Sound, and was said to have buried a part of his vast treasure on Gardiner's Island. He finally appeared on the streets of Boston "dressed as a gentleman"; was seen by Governor Bellomont, was arrested and finally sent to England for trial, where he and nine of his men were executed.

Of "Captain Kidd and his Treasure" many ballads have been sung, and a thousand stories written, while, at lengthening intervals, men still search for the hidden gold and silver*.

* The treasure hidden on Gardiner's Island was discovered and delivered to Governor Bellomont. It is known that 738 ounces of gold, 847 ounces of silver, besides jewels were found.

His story is of importance to us, only as it helps us to understand the times in which he lived. The effect then produced is best told in the language of an historian who wrote in 1839 *. “The adventures, piracy, trial and execution of Captain Kidd made so great a noise in America and England at the time, besides involving the good fame of many English nobles, that I must devote a few pages to the subsequent history of this unhappy man. The Tory party in England, endeavoring to destroy the Whig ministry, charged them with abetting Kidd in his piracies and sharing the plunder. These gentlemen in conjunction with Bellomont and Robert Livingston fitted out the ‘*Adventure Galley*’ and Kidd had on Livingston’s recommendation been placed in command.”

Death of Bellomont. — Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, 1701.—Governor Bellomont died in the city of New York in March, 1701. Naturally, a man of so positive a nature left behind him many friends and many bitter enemies. His apparent espousal of Leisler’s cause by the tardy act of humanity to his remains, and the benefits extended to men of that party secured for him the enmity of the aristocratic element.

He was succeeded by John Nanfan, lieutenant-governor. But two events of Nanfan’s brief administration need be mentioned. One was an act appropriating \$2,500 to strengthen the defences of Albany and Schenectady, and to build a fort in the Onondaga country, with \$4,000 for presents to the Iroquois †.

* William Dunlap in “History of New York”.

† In return the Indians ceded a large tract of land to the crown.

Another was the establishment of a new court of Chancery, of which William Atwood was chief justice, and Abraham de Peyster and Robert Walters were associates.

SUMMARY

1. Governor Sloughter's instructions.
2. The first Royal assembly, 1691; how convened, its acts.
3. Death of Sloughter.
4. Governor Fletcher; character.
5. William Bradford and Benjamin Franklin.
6. Earl of Bellomont, governor, 1695; his character; condition of colony; the earl's promises.
7. Justice to Leisler.
8. Bellomont and Frontenac.
9. The fraudulent land grants.
10. Law against Jesuit priests; reason for.
11. Piracy in 1695.
12. The story of Captain Kidd.
13. Bellomont's and Livingston's connection with Kidd.
14. Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan; the Indians; the courts.

CHAPTER XV

UNDER THE ENGLISH, 1702-1708

Queen Anne; Lord Cornbury, 1702.—In 1702



ANNE. 1665-1714
REIGNED, 1702-1714

King William died without an heir, and the crown of England went to Anne, second daughter of James II. With her accession to the throne fresh trouble came to the colony. She at once appointed as governor a relative, Sir Edward Hyde, known as Lord Cornbury.

This seems to have been done, not on account of his fitness, but to get him out of the way of his creditors, and to give him an opportunity to recover his shattered fortunes. He appears to have had scarcely one redeeming quality, yet the colony suffered from his mal-administration for seven years.

Condition of the colony of New York.—So many and such frequent changes had occurred in the government of New York since the year 1623, when the Dutch West India Company undertook the management of its affairs, that one may well inquire, what was the condition of the government in 1702? What was the real form of that government? What voice or

share had the people in it? Had the seventy-nine intervening years brought any improvement in the condition of the people?

New York in passing from the proprietorship of the Dutch West India Company to that of the Duke of York, and later to the condition of a royal province under the duke, afterward James II, had gained little in the way of self-government. The people had a small share in the management of their own affairs. They could levy taxes; could grant or withhold money intended for colonial purposes; and had a sort of legislature, although the crown reserved the power of appointment for two-thirds of its members, and also an absolute veto power in regard to every law or measure passed by it.

The governor and lieutenant-governor were both appointed by the crown, without the consent of the colonists, and as the governor named his own council it could not be expected in any great degree to represent the people.

Powers of a colonial governor.—The governor could convene and dissolve the assembly. He could suspend members and fill the vacancies. He could erect courts, appoint justices of the peace, and pardon all offences,—treason and murder alone excepted. Singularly enough, his salary was voted by the assembly, but he had many ways of enriching himself and his friends without the consent of the people.

To us this seems a very travesty on free government, but it must be remembered that two hundred years ago the world knew very little about representative forms of government. The worst feature of all was

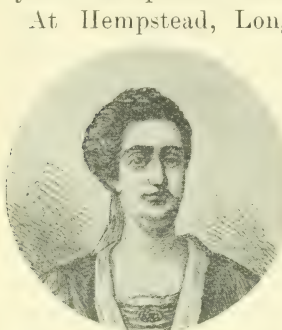
that the governor was a satrap, so far from his sovereign that there was very little limit to his powers, particularly as he had a body of soldiers always at his call. The time came when the people rebelled against such a governing power. The colonies were then "at school", learning by slow degrees the art of self-government.

In one particular, the colony of New York led all the others; this was in freedom of speech and conscience. When Peter Stuyvesant was forced to capitulate, he insisted on "Liberty of conscience and church government now and forever". To this demand Nicolls had agreed. Many attempts had been made to break down this barrier to tyranny. With the coming of Lord Cornbury, the battle over this sacred right had again to be fought. The custom of the times was not tolerance in religious faith, nor the spirit of charity for others. Men professed to be the followers of Christ, but few showed his spirit, or practised his teachings*.

Cornbury's attempt to establish Episcopacy.—Cornbury found the Dutch settlers with scarcely an exception professing the Protestant faith as they understood it, and acknowledging the authority of the Synod of Dort. This, to Cornbury, was rank heresy. He set to work with all his might to establish English Episcopacy, and directed that neither teachers nor preachers

*The spirit of the times was well illustrated by the remark of an Iroquois Indian who, hearing for the first time of the crucifixion of Christ, exclaimed, "I wish I had been there; I'd have taken all their scalps!"

should practise their callings unless licensed to do so by the bishop of London.



EDWARD HYDE, VISCOUNT CORNBURY, EARL OF CLARENDON, 1661-1723

At Hempstead, Long Island, was a Presbyterian church with a regular minister. At Flushing and Oyster Bay the Quakers had societies, while at Jamaica were both a Dutch and an Episcopal church, between which there had been an unpleasant contest.

It so happened (a frequent occurrence, then), that a malignant fever broke out in New York, and Governor Cornbury for his own safety removed to Hempstead. The only good house there was the one owned by the Presbyterian church and occupied by the minister. The governor asked for this house. No one could refuse the governor, so the minister moved out and our Lord Cornbury moved in. Next he turned the church over to the Episcopalians, justifying himself by that item in his instructions which directed him "so far as was convenient to favor the Church of England"*.

It was the custom of the times to construe both the law and the king's orders to one's personal advantage.

East and West Jersey.—A formal commission directed Lord Cornbury to govern also the whole of New Jersey, the proprietors having surrendered all

* In 1728 this wrong was set right by the colonial courts.

their powers to the crown. East and West Jersey were therefore once more united in one province.

The “navigation act” had been promulgated in 1660, but it had fallen into disuse. Lord Cornbury was now instructed to enforce it, at a time when the growing commerce of the colony made it particularly odious.

It had been enacted by parliament that no commodities were to be imported into any British settlement in “Asia, Africa or America or exported thence except in vessels built in England or her colonial possessions,” and the master and at least three-fourths of the crew must be British subjects. Also, certain enumerated articles, such as sugar, cotton, tobacco, wool, etc., etc., raised or manufactured in the colonies, could be shipped nowhere except to England. To this was afterwards added the requirement that no European articles should be shipped to any of the colonies unless the vessels were laden in England.

The enforcement of the act at this time contributed greatly to the unpopularity of Governor Cornbury, and it was afterward one of the causes of the Revolution.

Dissatisfaction with the governor.—Lord Cornbury’s demands for money soon began to be a cause of dissatisfaction in the assembly. They voted £1,500 for batteries to protect New York, but having cause to suspect that much of the money went to his lordship’s own use, they began to scrutinize his expenditures. This offended him; and in reply to their talk about their “rights”, he told them plainly they had “no rights but such as her gracious majesty granted them”! Indeed, under his honor’s government, this

was nearly true. The assembly voted more money; but instead of handing it over to the governor they placed it in the hands of a treasurer, who was directed to look after its disbursement.

Religious intolerance.—As if to make himself still more unpopular the governor interfered more actively in religious matters, his instructions making it discretionary how far it was “convenient” for him to go. He forbade the Dutch congregation to open their church to a Presbyterian minister or to listen to one. He imprisoned two ministers for preaching without license.

His personal debaucheries might be overlooked or forgiven, but his interference in matters of religious belief they would not endure. They protested to the queen with such vehemence and in such numbers that she revoked Cornbury’s commission; and when the royal authority had been withdrawn, his creditors promptly threw him into prison for debt. Just then his father died, he became a peer, and from a Wall street jail he went to the British House of Lords.

But he will always have the reputation of being the worst governor England sent to her colonies. It was one of his habits to dress as a woman, as shown in his portrait, page 142. This he pretended to do in honor of Queen Anne, whom he thought himself to resemble.

New York in Queen Anne’s War, 1702-1713.—Again the peace of the American colonies was to be disturbed by the petty quarrels of European sovereigns. What in 1702 was known in Europe as the “War of the Spanish Succession” was in this country called “Queen Anne’s War”. It made little difference to

the colonists who sat on the throne of Spain, but as both France and England were participants of the European quarrel, on opposite sides, the traditional antipathy between Canada and the English colonies was again fanned to a flame, and for eleven years the strife went on.

That it fell so lightly on New York was largely due to the efforts of Colonel Peter Schuyler. Through his influence with the Iroquois, the friendship of those fickle tribes was secured. Schuyler induced a sachem from each tribe to accompany him to England. The mission served a double purpose. The Indians were deeply impressed with the power and resources of England, and returned once more the staunch allies of the English, while the British ministry authorized a campaign for the conquest of Canada.

Schuyler on his return to New York stirred up the military spirit there. Invasions of Canada were planned and several expeditions were sent out. The English fleet which was to have conquered Quebec was wrecked at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and the contemplated invasions of Canada from New York failed also. These operations served one good purpose however; they prevented those Canadian expeditions into our own State which fell so heavily year after year upon New England. Canada was not conquered, but the extraordinary expenses of this war made it necessary for New York to issue bills of credit for large amounts. This war was finally concluded in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht.

Lord John Lovelace, 1708.—In the midst of these troubles Cornbury had departed, to be succeeded in

1708 by a new governor. The people felt that almost any change must be for the better and they extended a warm welcome to Lord Lovelace. His policy had scarcely been announced when he died. He had, however, expressed a desire to have the finances of the colony carefully examined, that the extravagances of his predecessors might not be charged to him. He had asked for an ample appropriation; this the assembly voted, but they provided safeguards for its expenditure.

SUMMARY

1. Queen Anne and Governor Cornbury.
2. Condition of colony in 1702; nature of the government; changes in its form; growth of popular government.
3. Powers of colonial governors.
4. New York leads in "Liberty of Conscience".
5. Cornbury and religious toleration.
6. East and West Jersey.
7. The navigation act; trouble from its enforcement.
8. Cornbury's conflict with the assembly.
9. Protests against acts of governor.
10. Cornbury's recall; arrest and release.
11. Queen Anne's war; action of Iroquois.
12. Effect on New York.
13. Colonel Schuyler's mission to England; its object and result.
14. Lovelace governor; character.

CHAPTER XVI

UNDER THE ENGLISH, 1710-1754

Governor Hunter.—The Palatines, 1710.—Now came a man of wide experience and more than ordinary ability. Governor Hunter had served in the English army as a private soldier, but by his courage and his manly bearing he had won promotion. He was appointed governor of Virginia; but while on his way to that colony was captured by a French privateer and on his release found himself appointed governor of New York.

It was through Governor Hunter's influence that 3,000 Germans, natives of the Palatinate, came to the colony of New York. They had removed to England on account of the cruel policy of Louis XIV. A large number settled in Pennsylvania, a few in New York city, and the remainder in Schoharie county and the valley of the Mohawk*. They proved a valuable addition to the population of the New World.

Coming as he did in the midst of one of the campaigns against Canada, Governor Hunter had need of wise counselors. Such men as Gerardus Beeckman, Rip Van Dam, and Colonel Van Rensselaer were members of his council, and among his friends he reckoned Chief Justice Morris and Jacob Van Cortlandt.

* Palatine, Palatine Bridge, and German Flats, Ilion now stand where these first settlements were made.

His friends being chiefly among the wealthy men of the colony, he soon found himself opposed by a majority of the assembly, who insisted on higher prerogatives. The governor was inclined to curtail those they already possessed. This soon led to a disagreement just when he had greatest need of their cöoperation.

Hunter's effort was to make officeholders independent of the people. He even erected courts without the consent of the assembly. That body appealed to the House of Lords, which sustained the governor and let the people know that her majesty had an undoubted right to create as many courts as she pleased.

Here we may see premonitions of that resistance to arbitrary rule which was in a half century to cause open rebellion and lead to revolution and ultimate separation. Governor Hunter soon grew weary of controversy; but he remained until 1719, when broken health finally compelled his return to England.

The first negro plot, 1712.—What is commonly known as the "First Negro Plot" occurred while Governor Hunter was in office. The slave trade still existed. Most of the slaves in New York had been brought from Africa*, and were consequently ignorant and degraded. The number was not large, but there was a general sense of insecurity on account of their presence. Masters were not allowed to set their negroes free. Severe punishments were inflicted, and often there was resistance. A fire occurred which was believed to be the work of an incendiary. A search for

* The first slave market in New York was set up in 1709.

the offender and a consequent riot followed. Some one raised the cry "The negroes!" It was reported that there was a plot to burn the city and soon the prisons were filled with "suspects".

A few were executed and others were burned at the stake before the unreasoning fear subsided*.

Governor William Burnett, 1720.—On the departure of Governor Hunter, there being no lieutenant-governor, Peter Schuyler as senior member of the council became acting governor. An honest, brave, capable man, thoroughly familiar with all the affairs of the colony, he filled the position with distinguished ability until the arrival of Governor Burnett



WILLIAM BURNETT

in 1720. After a long train of governors, who had come out to the colony to serve their own interests rather than those of the people, it was a great change to receive one man who had a higher notion of his duties†.

The new governor was the son of Bishop Burnett. He is said to have been "polite, sociable, well-read,

*It is probable that the Treaty of Utrecht did quite as much to restore confidence as did the execution of a dozen or more unfortunate slaves.

† Even the Earl of Chatham, who should have known better, once remarked that a man fit to govern an American colony could be found in any one of his majesty's regiments.

quick, intelligent, and well-disposed", and he did not show the usual craving to get rich at the expense of those whom he had come to govern. Very soon after his arrival he established a fort and trading post on Lake Ontario where Oswego now stands. This point was the entrepot through which the French had long been carrying on a profitable trade with the New York Indians. By this means the traffic was again diverted to the English. Governor Burnett also secured the passage of a law prohibiting trade with the French by way of Lake Champlain. This trade, very profitable to certain New York merchants, was thought to endanger the peace with the Iroquois, as through it they were coming more and more into communication with the French and the Canadian Indians.

A French post at Niagara.—To these attacks on their trade the French responded by constructing a fort and trading post at Niagara, through which they hoped to accomplish the same results. In this manner these two places came into prominence, and remained as military posts long after the Indian traffic of New York had ceased to be a source of profit, and even when Canada had permanently passed from under the dominion of France.

Removal of Governor Burnett, 1728.—Unfortunately, the closing years of Governor Burnett's administration were clouded by differences with the assembly. The complaints against the governor were inspired by certain merchants whose trade had been injured by the restrictions placed upon traffic with Canada. This disagreement grew until, for the sake of peace, it was thought best to transfer him to the

governorship of Massachusetts, and in 1728 he was succeeded in New York by John Montgomery, a Scotchman.

The Connecticut boundary dispute, 1731.—In Montgomery's administration a settlement was reached in the long-standing dispute over the Connecticut boundary.

In 1664 a line had been agreed upon, but it was claimed that fraud was practised by the surveyors who marked it. Again in 1725 an attempt had been made to settle the dispute, and another partition line had been agreed upon which also proved unsatisfactory. In 1731 the case once more came up, and a final adjustment of the line was made*.

Governor Montgomery died in 1731. Rip Van Dam, as senior member of the council, became acting governor until the coming of Governor William Cosby in 1732.

Cosby and Van Dam, 1732.—One event of Cosby's administration well illustrates the character of the man. Van Dam had served as governor thirteen months before Cosby arrived, and the assembly voted him a governor's pay for his services. On his arrival Cosby asked Van Dam to turn over to him one-half of

* By the agreement then made a tract of land containing 60,000 acres on the Connecticut side of the former line was ceded to New York. From its peculiar shape it was called "The oblong". In return an equal amount of land lying near Long Island Sound was given to Connecticut. This last is included in that part of Fairfield County, Conn., which extends westward to the Bryan river.

that salary. Naturally Van Dam refused to do so. Cosby at once proceeded against him in the colonial court; but instead of taking it to the court of equity, where it belonged, he took it to the court of chancery over which he himself presided. To this Van Dam's counsel objected, and the chief justice, Lewis Morris, sustained the objection. Cosby promptly removed Morris and appointed James DeLancy to his place*. These high-handed proceedings set even the governor's own council against him, and soon resulted in one of the most celebrated trials of the colonial period.

The Zenger trial, 1735.—William Bradford, who had, at Philadelphia, set up the first newspaper in 1687, was now government printer, and had started a paper in New York city. He espoused the cause of Governor Cosby and his friends. The opposition, also, had a paper which was managed by John Peter Zenger, a Palatine German.

In Zenger's paper Governor Cosby and every branch of his government were vigorously attacked. The ballads, squibs, and direct charges goaded the governor to madness. Zenger was arrested upon the charge of "publishing a certain false, malicious, seditious and scandalous libel" against the governor, and the ballads were ordered to be burned by the "public whipper". The trial came on. Zenger's friends had secretly engaged for his defence Andrew Hamilton, a man already eighty years of age,—a distinguished citizen and jurist of Philadelphia, one of the most prominent lawyers in the country.

* The governor also removed Van Dam from the council.

The case was tried before a jury, and when Hamilton rose to address them, he was greeted with a storm of applause by the crowd of citizens in attendance. He boldly declared that all which had been published was the truth, hence no libel. Furthermore he offered to prove the truth of the statements called libellous. The trial lasted for several days, and when the jury brought in their verdict of "not guilty" the people caught Hamilton up and bore him on their shoulders to his hotel. The corporation of New York voted Hamilton the "freedom of the city"*, with an address thanking him for his "distinguished services"†.

George Clark.—Governor Cosby died in 1736. The removal of Van Dam from the council had placed George Clark in the line of promotion to the office of lieutenant-governor. This position he retained for seven years.

The second negro plot, 1741.—This second panic was much more terrible than the one which had visited the city of New York twenty-nine years before. It was equally groundless and more unreasonable, for it occurred in a time of peace. As in the first panic, a number of fires occurred within a few days, and the negroes were at once suspected. The method then

* It was the custom of the times to vote any distinguished visitor the "freedom of the city" in a gold box. On one occasion this "box" was shown to have cost £14 8s., while alongside stood the quarterly salary of the schoolmaster at £10.

† Gouverneur Morris once declared that American liberty should date, not from the Declaration of Independence, but from the Zenger trial.

pursued would cause a panic in almost any city to-day. A negro arrested "on suspicion" was usually promised his "liberty" if he would "testify". This he was willing to do, and as a result the jails were soon filled with a promiscuous crowd of suspects, among whom were many bad characters.

One Mary Burton, a slave woman, who had been promised protection, pardon, liberty, and £100, finally consented to testify. Her testimony involved many negroes and a few whites. A poor, half-witted boy among the number was also told he could be pardoned if he would "testify". He understood that he must testify to a plot to "kill, burn, and destroy" and he did what was expected of him.

Finally it came to be believed that there was a concerted "plot" among the negroes, and so the panic spread until men completely lost their heads. As a result two whites and eight negroes were hanged on the site of the modern "Five Points", then a pleasant green valley. Eleven were burned alive and fifty were sold into slavery in the West Indies,—all doubtless the innocent victims of a groundless fear. So was the shame of the Salem witchcraft horror paralleled in New York.

The Scotch Highlanders, 1738.—In Governor Clark's time, Captain Laughlin Campbell brought to New York eighty-three families of Scotch Highlanders, intending to settle them on Lake George as a defence against the inroads of the French. Campbell was to receive a grant of 30,000 acres of land for this purpose. A difficulty concerning the grant delayed the settlement, and many of the Highlanders returned to Scot-

land, though the majority remained, to be heard from later in the history of our State*.

Governor Clark and the assembly.—During the administration of Governor Clark, elections were carried on with greater freedom. The assembly and the governor early came to an understanding as to the powers of each. The governor submitted gracefully to legislative restrictions, while in return the assembly supported most of his measures. Governor Clark sent to the assembly the first “governor’s message”, and to this the assembly replied in good spirit.

Clark had done well for the colony; he had done better for himself, for he was able to retire to England with the very comfortable competence of £100,000, supposed to be saved in seven years from an annual salary of £1,560.

Changes in England.—Queen Anne had died in 1714. She had been succeeded by King George I who, dying in 1727, was succeeded by his son Prince George,



GEORGE I. 1660-1727
REIGNED. 1714-1727



GEORGE II. 1683-1760
REIGNED. 1727-1760

as King George II. During the reign of the latter,

* See period of Revolution.

Sir George Clinton* was commissioned as governor of New York.

Governor Sir George Clinton:—King George's war.—It should have been possible for even the son of an English earl to understand the people of an American colony, but Sir George Clinton certainly did not. During his long term, by his controversies with the assembly, and his entire lack of sympathy with the liberty-loving spirit of the colonists, he succeeded in still further widening the breach already begun between England and her colonies. In Governor Clinton's time came another struggle between France and England, known in Europe as the "War of the Austrian Succession", in this country as "King George's War". New York was little affected by this contest, though she sent a small artillery force to aid in the reduction of Louisburg.

The French on the frontiers.—Within the colony of New York both French and English were watchful and active, but no serious conflict occurred. The French still retained Crown Point, from which safe retreat their scouting parties raided all the surrounding country.

In 1749 they built Fort Presentation at the mouth of the Oswegatchie, the present site of Ogdensburg, and there established a mission. This made it necessary for Governor Clinton to strengthen the defences of Albany, Schenectady, and Oswego; and to build a

* Sir George was the son of the Earl of Lincoln. He was governor of New York for ten years, and afterward served as governor of Newfoundland.

series of block-houses between Saratoga and Fort William (Stanwix). These precautions made the war expenses of the colony enormous. In three years they amounted to fully £100,000. With a population of little more than 60,000, the colony of New York constructed these fortifications and kept 1,600 men in the field.

The Iroquois.—Under the influence of the French priests among them, the allegiance of the Iroquois began again to waver, so Governor Clinton went to Albany to hold a council with their chiefs. “After much parley and many presents” they once more agreed to aid the English against the French, and to “roast” every Jesuit that came into their territory. Governor Clinton on his part, pledged a dying Indian (small-pox was prevailing) that the first French scalp taken should be sent to that Indian’s mother. Such were the amenities of war one hundred and fifty years ago, and so was the old treaty solemnly renewed.

Notwithstanding all this, the French and Canadian Indians swept down from Crown Point upon Saratoga in the autumn of 1745, burned the town, killed many of the inhabitants, and carried away more than one hundred prisoners, among them Philip Schuyler, brother of Peter Schuyler*.

At this time Colonel, afterward Sir William, Johnson was Indian commissioner. He was born in Ireland and came to New York to look after his uncle’s vast estates in the Mohawk Valley. He was a brother-in-

*With Saratoga they also destroyed the smaller town of Hoosic.

law to Chief Justice DeLancey. By living much among the Indians he acquired a great influence over them. In consideration of his services the king granted him 100,000 acres of land where Johnstown now stands. Johnson, later, becomes a very prominent figure in American affairs.

The treaty of peace, 1748.—The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle occurred in this year (1748), bringing once more a welcome peace to the colony of New York.

Governor Clinton and the assembly, 1749.—Clinton's most unfortunate move was an attempt to compel the assembly to vote a permanent "support bill" for five years, that he might for that time at least be independent of the people. This the assembly refused to do. He informed them that he received his authority from a power that could set bounds to their privileges and alter them at pleasure. To this the assembly responded by declaring his conduct "arbitrary and illegal", and a violation of their rights*.

Having now accumulated a modest fortune of £80,000, the governor was able to retire, which he did to the great joy of the people, leaving the government in the hands of James DeLancey as lieutenant-governor†.

DeLancey, acting governor, 1753.—Chief Jus-

* Kent and Smith, in Colonial Journal.

† Sir Danvers Osborn was appointed governor and reached New York, but within a week he committed suicide, so that DeLancey's administration was not interrupted; while Sir Charles Hardy, who came in 1755, took no active part in colonial affairs, preferring the command of the fleet sent against Louisburg.

tice DeLancey was a man who thoroughly knew colonial affairs. For this reason he was able to conciliate opposing factions and to unite them as they had not been united for many years. It was fortunate, for two great crises were at hand: the French and Indian war, which would tax the resources of the colony to their utmost, and the revolution, now but a few years away, when New York would be brought into intimate relation to the other colonies, with which, hitherto, she had seldom acted.

King's college, 1754.—It would seem that in the midst of these almost constant alarms all the institutions of peace would be forgotten, but we find New York at this very time making provision for the education of her sons. During these years the necessary money was raised and King's (Columbia) college was founded.

SUMMARY

1. Governor Hunter; his career; his character.
2. The Palatines; their settlements.
3. Governor Hunter's friends.
4. His conflict with the assembly; the judiciary.
5. The first negro plot.
6. The governor and the courts.
7. Governor Burnett; his character.
8. Chatham's estimate of a colonial governor.
9. Character of Peter Schuyler.
10. Trade on Lake Champlain.
11. The French at Niagara.
12. The Connecticut boundary dispute; its final adjustment.

13. Governor Cosby; Van Dam; Justice Morris and James DeLancey.

14. The Zenger trial; origin, and result.

15. The "Freedom of the city".

16. Gouverneur Morris's estimate of the trial.

17. The second "Negro Plot"; rise of the panic; the true cause; the result.

18. The Scotch Highlanders.

19. Governor Clark; his services and his savings.

20. English affairs, 1714 to 1727.

21. Governor Sir George Clinton; his character and administration.

22. King George's war; New York's share.

23. The French again on the frontiers, 1749; New York's preparations.

24. Governor Clinton and the Iroquois.

25. The burning of Saratoga and Hoosic.

26. Sir William Johnson.

27. Clinton's controversy with the assembly.

28. Retirement of Governor Clinton.

29. Governor DeLancey and his administration.

30. King's college.

CHAPTER XVII

THE JESUITS AND FRENCH ARMS IN NEW YORK

The Jesuit missionaries.—Several things may be truthfully said of the work of the Jesuit missionaries in New York.

They were a brave, self-sacrificing band, devoted to the church which they served. They did much to elevate the character of the Indians wherever they were able to maintain a continued foothold. These Jesuit fathers sincerely desired the spiritual good of the Indians, and many of them sealed their title to this character with their blood. It is, however, probable that the French authorities expected through their labors with the savage Iroquois to wrest from the Dutch those possessions which they, with some show of justice, claimed as theirs by right of the explorations of Champlain*.

In 1641, two missionaries, Charles Rymbault and Isaac Jogues, while ascending the St. Lawrence with an escort of Hurons, were attacked by a band of Mohawks. The priests were captured and while being escorted from village to village were subjected to most cruel tortures.

News of these outrages coming to Commissioner

* The story of their labors in America has recently been fittingly told. See "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" by R. G. Thwaites, 1898.

Van Curler at Fort Orange, he went to their rescue. He spent many days among the Mohawks, finally offering a large ransom for the two priests. It was in vain. Father Rymbault was soon put to death. Father Jogues was spared and preached the gospel among the savage Mohawks for several months. At last he made his escape to Fort Orange, where he was befriended by Dominie Megapolensis, and the two became firm friends.

Governor Kieft assisted the good priest to reach Europe, but in 1644 he again came to Canada, commissioned as a voluntary missionary to the Mohawks. He believed that the time had now come to plant a permanent mission among the Iroquois.

At Quebec Father Jogues made his final preparations, saying as he took his departure for the wilderness of New York, "I go, but shall never return." The Indians were soon thereafter visited by a pestilence from which many died. This they charged to the good father's influence and they put him to death.

In 1644 Joseph Bressani, also a Jesuit, was captured by the Mohawks in much the same manner. He was subjected to the same tortures, but his life was spared. He was sent to Fort Orange where he was ransomed and assisted to go to Europe. Afterwards his zeal for his missionary work led him to return to his labors among the savages.

With most men these experiences would have been considered an indication that the spirit did not call them to such a field. Not so with the Jesuit fathers. In 1653 Father Joseph Poncet entered the Mohawk country. He, too, suffered torture and cruelties, but was saved by being adopted into an Indian family. He

labored for several months among the Mohawks and Onondagas. During the next year, 1654, a jealousy sprang up between these two tribes. This made the Onondagas anxious to conclude a treaty with the Hurons, that they might strengthen their power with additional warriors to fill the places of those they had lost in battle.

Accordingly they sent an embassy to the governor of Canada asking that a mission such as the Hurons had might be established in their country. In answer to this request, Father Simon Le Moyne, who had spent many years among the Hurons, was sent to them. He met deputies from several tribes and a mission was founded in the Onondaga country during the year 1654.

It took some time to appease the anger of the Mohawks, who, claiming to keep the "eastern door" of the "Iroquois Long House", felt that Father Le Moyne should first have visited them. The gentle diplomacy of the priest finally prevailed, and an arrangement was made that he should soon visit their country also. It was on his visit to the Onondagas that Father Le Moyne discovered the salt springs destined in later years to be a source of revenue to the State. The Indians had been afraid of the water; but when the father in their presence, made real salt from it, their confidence in him was greatly strengthened.

The following year, 1655, a permanent mission was established near the salt springs, where the Indians built a rude chapel of bark. There two fathers, Joseph Chaumonout and Claude Dablon, were established. This mission soon bore fruit. It is not to be supposed that the French would be satisfied with ministering

only to the spiritual needs of the Indians. In the next year, 1656, it was determined to establish a French colony at Onondaga lake.

In May of the same year more missionaries under Father Le Mercier and a colony of Frenchmen under Sieur Dupays set out for the country of the Onondagas. Arriving in July they took possession "in the name of Christ and France", and erected cabins and a redoubt for the five pieces of artillery which, wisely, they had brought with them.

The Mohawks were jealous and held themselves aloof, but the Oneidas and Cayugas welcomed the missionaries, and asked that resident priests be sent to them*. In this manner, with priests and soldiers, the cross and the sword, France pushed her way into the heart of the Dutch possessions. But the Amsterdam directors of the West India Company saw more than missions in this invasion of their rights, and warned Governor Stuyvesant to be on his guard. The old warlike spirit of the Iroquois had not greatly changed. Some converted Hurons were massacred; Governor D'Aillebours of Canada retaliated by imprisoning some Iroquois whom he had captured, and the faithful labors of the priests were all undone. The Indians, anxious for the safety of their imprisoned warriors, begged Father Le Moyne to go to Quebec and obtain their release. This he undertook to do, but going by way of Fort Orange, he paid a visit to New Amsterdam,

* In justice to the Indians, it should be said that when the "presents" from Canada began to fail, and Frenchmen began to act very much like Dutch traders, their regard for Christianity grew cold.

where he made the acquaintance of Dominie Megapolensis, as Father Jogues had done before him*. Here he tarried too long. The Indians became uneasy, and the French at Onondaga fearful.

Inviting all the Indians to a feast which was prolonged to a late hour, the French, while the Indians slept, abandoned everything, and softly stole away to Canada.

For many years thereafter missionaries continued to enter the Iroquois territory; but this was the end of French attempts to plant colonies within the boundaries of the State. In the next year, 1659, the whole Iroquois confederacy was at war with the Canadians.

About the only pleasant remembrance of this attempt to plant a French colony in our State is the fact that while across the Atlantic religious intolerance was at its very worst, in America popish priests and Reformed Dutch dominies were showing each other Christian kindness.

French arms in New York, 1665.—Louis XIV did not by any means abandon his attempt to retain at least that part of New York which borders on the St. Lawrence. Year by year the contest was renewed. In 1665 a thousand veteran French soldiers were sent over under command of Marquis de Tracy. He as-

* Good resulted from this visit. Through Father Le Moyne the Dutch first heard of the salt springs; through his influence a sort of commercial treaty with New France was negotiated. This treaty was for trade with the French only. It very expressly stated that the Dutch should not trade with the Canadian Indians nor "meddle with religious affairs".

cended the Sorel*, and at the rapids built Ft. Chambly. A little above that he built Fort St. Theresa, and later, on Lake Champlain, Fort La Motte.

From these garrisoned places, he was able to carry on his campaigns. He succeeded in making a treaty with all the Iroquois except the Oneidas and the Mohawks. These he determined to humble, and he was finally successful, but not until he had received abundant proof of their prowess in battle. After this, missions were again established among all the tribes, and they seemed for a time entirely alienated from the English.

Frontenac governor of Canada, 1672.—In 1672 Count Frontenac was appointed governor of Canada. He was one of the most prominent soldiers of France. His orders were to “clear New York of the English and unite Canada with Louisiana”, and he set about his work in earnest. Unfortunately, he quarrelled with the priests, whom he accused of caring more for pelts than for souls, and this caused his temporary recall.

De La Barre governor of Canada, 1682.—De La Barre, who succeeded Frontenac, found the Iroquois ready to break their treaty with the French and again become allies of the English. This had come about through their jealousy of certain western tribes with which the French had made treaties, and also through the successful management of English agents sent among them for that purpose.

Invasion of New York.—De La Barre decided at

* Named from the French engineer, Saurel.

once to punish the troublesome Iroquois. With an army of 1,750 men he marched to attack them; but his troops suffered so much from famine and consequent sickness that he was obliged to treat for peace with the very tribes he had come to exterminate.

For this purpose he invited the Iroquois chiefs to meet him in his camp for a "talk". Only three of them came. Garangula, the chief of the Onondagas, was one and to him the "talk" was addressed. De La Barre reminded him how powerful the French were, and that they lived in peace with the Algonquins. He accused the Iroquois of being in league with the English, and threatened entire extermination if they did not forsake them and join the French.

Garangula knew the condition of De La Barre's troops and was very bold. He said, "We Iroquois go where we please; we buy and sell what we please. Your allies are slaves; command them, and not the Iroquois." He further plainly intimated that De La Barre with his troops had better return to Canada, or the Iroquois, with "Corlear" (Van Curler) would go with them.

De La Barre's failure led to his recall in 1684 and De Nonville was appointed governor. He entered upon the same undertaking as his predecessor, with more disastrous results, being ambushed and defeated with great loss. In 1687 he, also, was recalled and Frontenac was returned.

The friendship of the Iroquois was now industriously sued for by both parties. Frontenac, on his part, sent to them Millet, a French priest, who had lived many years among the Oneidas. He succeeded in

winning over to the French both the Oneidas and the Cayugas, while the other tribes maintained their allegiance to the English.

King William's war, 1689-1697.—The English revolution of 1688 brought additional trouble to all the American colonies. The struggle which had been inter-colonial, now became international.

Louis XIV having espoused the cause of the fugitive James II, England and France were now at war.

Nations attack each other through their colonies*. In this country King William's war was but an incident in the long struggle between France and England for the possession of the continent. In this way the eastern colonies became involved in what had heretofore been New York's quarrel only.

Frontenac invades New York, 1690.—The first heavy blow fell on the Mohawk Valley. In February, 1690, a force of French and Indians were sent with orders to attempt the capture of Albany. The first attack was made on Schenectady, then a village of about 80 houses, surrounded by a stockade. The weather was intensely cold, the snow deep, and the villagers were off their guard. The assault came at midnight. Sixty-three persons, including the little garrison, were massacred, many were carried into captivity and the town was destroyed. A few escaped, nearly frozen, to Albany, gave the alarm there, and saved it from destruction. †

* As in the Cuban war, 1898, the United States took Manila.

† This was during Leisler's administration and occasioned the call for his colonial congress. See page 127.

In January, 1693, Frontenac assembled an army at Fort Chambly, on Lake Champlain, and again invaded the Mohawk country. Peter Schuyler marched against him with a force of militia, and the French were obliged to retire.

For three years longer the Iroquois, standing between the two combatants, suffered more than either of them.

Frontenac's last invasion, 1696.—In the summer of 1696 the restless Frontenac made his final invasion.

He rebuilt Fort Frontenac, which had been destroyed, and marched up the Oswego river with 2,200 men,—regulars, Canadians, and Canadian Indians. Before this force, the Onondagas were compelled to retire. The tribes were in such extremity that they were obliged to depend on the English for food. In this invasion Frontenac gained little, while the English, by their management entirely recovered their control over the wavering minds of the Indians.

Frontenac, now an old man, was carried on a litter by his soldiers. In 1698 he died and with him went, in a large measure, the power of the French in New York.

Meantime, in 1697, the treaty of Ryswyck had for a short period brought peace between France and England, and a grateful quiet came to the people of New York who, from the founding of the colony, had hardly known rest from strife.

SUMMARY

1. Character and work of Jesuit missionaries.
2. Effect of their labors among Iroquois.
3. English view of their purpose.
4. Fathers Rymbault and Jogues in New York.

5. Father Jogues and Dominic Megapolensis.
6. Father Jogues's death.
7. Bressani and Poncet.
8. Labors of Father Le Moyne.
9. French attempt to plant a colony among Onondagas.
10. Father Le Moyne's mission to Canada.
11. Jesuit priests and Dutch dominies.
12. De La Barre's invasion and Garangula.
13. Frontenac and Millet, 1688.
14. King William's war; origin of; effect in New York.
15. Frontenac's invasion and burning of Schenectady, 1690.
16. Frontenac at Fort Chambly, 1693.
17. Frontenac's last invasion, 1696; the Onondagas.

PERIOD V

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1754-1763

CHAPTER XVIII

A STRIFE FOR TERRITORY

Conflict becomes national.—In previous controversies with France, New York had been the chief interested party. Her territory had repeatedly been invaded, its integrity threatened, and across her borders almost constant inroads of savage warfare had been made, destroying her towns and hindering her growth.

In the difficulty now pending, New York was again to be the greatest sufferer, but the territorial rights of Great Britain and many of the colonies were to be involved also.

French fortifications.—The far-sighted policy of France had completely hemmed in the English settlements, and looked forward to the ultimate extinction of the power of Great Britain on this continent. The lines of France extended from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. Along the borders of New York Forts Crown Point, Presentation, Frontenac, and Niagara made a complete chain; while the Ohio, from its source to the Mississippi was navigated only by French voyageurs, and was defended by strong military posts.

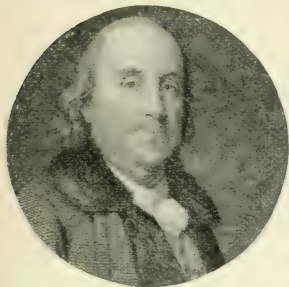
English statesmen saw the growing danger. The special interest of the colonies lay in the fact that by many of their charters their possessions extended indefinitely to the westward.

What was at stake.—The conflict began with the attempt of Virginia to colonize the lands she claimed on the headwaters of the Ohio. Needless as this war seemed to men of that time, its purpose in the providential development of our country can now be plainly seen. It settled forever the long pending claim of French domination on this continent. It determined that here should be established a great liberty-loving, English-speaking nation, with complete toleration for every shade of religious preference, in place of a threatened dependency, governed in part by the king of France, and in part by the Vatican at Rome. It developed the spirit of political and religious liberty; it taught the colonies their power; it united them for the great struggle against English oppression, and against ecclesiastical interference which hindered their expansion and growth.

The French in this country were few, as compared with the English, but they were thoroughly united, and amply aided by the home government; while the English colonies had never acted in concert and had for many years been engaged in rancorous controversies with the mother-country.

The Albany congress, 1754.—In June, 1754, at the suggestion of the English secretary of state, delegates from seven colonies met at Albany to consider the importance of forming a colonial confederation. Chiefs from several Indian tribes met with them.

At this congress, over which Governor DeLancey presided, the treaty with the Iroquois was again renewed (with the usual presents), and Dr. Franklin presented a plan for the union of all the colonies, which was the very germ of our present national constitution.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. 1706-1790

The proposed plan of union.—Dr. Franklin's plan was to ask parliament to sanction a union of all the colonies under one general government, to be administered by a president and council appointed by the crown, with a grand council to be elected by the people of the several colonies*. This plan of union was subsequently rejected by the colonies on the ground that it was too aristocratic, and by the English government on the ground that it was too democratic.

New York takes action.—Governor De Lancey now became of real service in putting New York in condition to meet the storm. From the assembly he procured a vote to raise £5,000 for the immediate defence of the colony, followed the next year by an issue of bills of credit for £45,000 more. The assembly also authorized the enlistment of 800 men, and made other provisions for defence.

* It is a remarkable coincidence that this plan of union was signed on the *4th day of July*, the very day Washington surrendered to the French at Fort Mifflin, and twenty-two years before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

The Virginia conference, 1755.—In 1755 General Braddock was sent over to lead an army of British regulars against the French. In April he called a conference of governors at Alexandria, Va., where a plan for a campaign was agreed on. It was decided to send out four expeditions. One was to recover the valley of the Ohio; another to drive the French from Fort Niagara; a third to attempt the capture of Crown Point; the fourth to reduce Nova Scotia.

The first year of the war, 1755.—Early in June Braddock set out to take charge of the Pennsylvania campaign, the objective point being Fort Duquesne. This was a failure. Braddock lost more than one-half of his army, and thus New York became the centre of operations.

Governor William Shirley, who was to command the expedition against Niagara, got no farther than Oswego, when, concluding to postpone operations for one year, he returned to Albany.

Expedition against Crown Point.—For the ex-



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, 1715-1774

pedition against Crown Point, General William Johnson was selected as commander. His departure was delayed until August, thus giving plenty of time for the French to concentrate all their forces against him. When finally he left Albany, he carried an abundance of stores and artillery, and had under him a

force of 3,400 whites and a company of Mohawks under King Hendrick* and Joseph Brant†, then a lad of thirteen.

At Fort Edward were gathered the New England troops under General Lyman and Colonel Williams, with 250 Indians. On Johnson's arrival in the latter part of August, 1755, the advance began toward Lake George. The French commander had not been idle. He had strengthened Crown Point by sending there Baron Dieskau with a force of 3,000 men, 800 of whom were French grenadiers. From Crown Point

* Hendrick, or King Hendrick, a famous Mohawk chief, was killed at Lake George. He had visited England, where he had received much attention.



KING HENDRICK, 1690-1755



JOSEPH BRANT, THAYENDANEGBA
1742-1806

† Joseph Brant was one of the most noted Mohawk chiefs. He was educated by Sir William Johnson, and became his secretary. With Johnson, he espoused the cause of the English in the revolution, and was a leader in many of the terrible massacres of that period. He opposed the sale of liquors to the Indians, and assisted in translating a prayer-book into the Mohawk language.

Dieskau led a strong force of French and Indians intending to capture Fort Edward and cut off Johnson's retreat.

Battle near Lake George.—The advance guards of the two parties met in an ambuscade planned by the French. Both Williams and Hendrick fell at the first fire, and a retreat toward the main body of the English was ordered. A desperate conflict followed. Dieskau was early wounded and captured. Johnson was severely wounded. Sometimes the advantage was with one party, and sometimes with the other, but in a few hours the French began to yield ground, and soon were in full retreat. They had lost 400 killed and wounded; the English 300. Crown Point had not been taken but the French had been defeated. Neither party was in a condition to renew the contest.

The Nova Scotia expedition succeeded in causing great suffering, but did not greatly weaken the French*.

SUMMARY

1. The policy of France; her preparation for the struggle.
2. New York's interests.
3. Interests of other colonies.
4. Relative condition of colonies and Canadian French.
5. The Albany Congress of 1754; object and delegates.
6. Dr. Franklin's plan of union; objections to it.
7. New York's action.

* Read story of "Acadians" in Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

8. The Virginia conference.

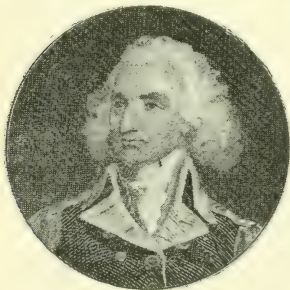
9. The first year of war, 1755; plan of campaign and results; names prominent in campaign.

CHAPTER XIX

THREE YEARS OF FIGHTING, 1756-1758

War formally declared.—In May Great Britain formally declared war against France, and sent over the Earl of Loudon to take command of her forces on this side of the Atlantic. The remnant of Braddock's army was brought to New York, and fresh levies were made until the earl had more than 10,000 men under his command.

Capture of Oswego.—The French now sent over to Canada as commander Marquis Montcalm, a field marshal of France, who began operations at once. His Indians poured into the valley of the Mohawk, and took the forts about Rome. They captured the supplies intended for Oswego, and were soon before the forts at that place. Its outposts were taken, and their guns turned on the main works, when the



PHILIP SCHUYLER, 1733-1804

surrender of the fort became necessary. Its gallant commander, Colonel Mercer, had fallen after a brave defence, in which many men had perished. The remainder of the garrison, 1,600 men, including the brave Philip Schuyler, were prisoners of war.

The consequences were most serious. The fort held immense stores which had been carried there at great expense, and with these went 120 cannon, six vessels, 300 boats, and the money intended for the payment of the troops.

The French, instead of retaining Oswego, removed all the guns and stores, entirely demolished the works, and abandoned the place.

The third year, 1757.—This year was to be marked with even more incompetence on the part of the British. The Earl of Loudon (see portrait, page 184), finding nothing to do in New York, left affairs in the hands of Governor DeLancey, and took command of the expedition against Louisburg, which proved a disastrous failure.

General Webb with a force of 6,000 men was expected to conduct a campaign against Montcalm, now well established on New York soil. Webb's first act was so to scatter his force as to make it an easy prey to the watchful Montcalm, who soon appeared on Lake Champlain.

Siege of Fort William Henry.—Advancing to Lake George with 8,000 men and a train of artillery, Montcalm laid siege to Fort William Henry, garrisoned by 500 men under Colonel Munro. A large force of provincials was encamped within easy supporting distance, and General Webb with 4,000 men was only fifteen miles away at Fort Edward; but no aid was sent to Munro, whom Montcalm summoned to surrender. He refused and sent to Webb, begging for re-inforcements. Webb's only reply was a letter to Munro, telling him that he had better surrender; and this, when his guns

had become useless, and his ammunition was exhausted, he was obliged to do.

Montcalm promised complete protection to all prisoners, but this he either neglected, or was unable to give, and the greater number of the garrison were murdered by the savage Indian allies of the French.

Fortunately for General Webb, Montcalm did not advance farther, but turned his attention to the Mohawk Valley, which was once more laid waste*. Thus, in disaster, ended another year's campaign.

Pitt to the rescue.—The most fortunate event of the year 1757 was the recall of the Earl of Loudon. The king was alarmed at seeing, thus far, but two results of the war; his troops had been defeated, and the provincials were growing more convinced of their superiority over the English. William Pitt was now made premier in the hope that he could retrieve



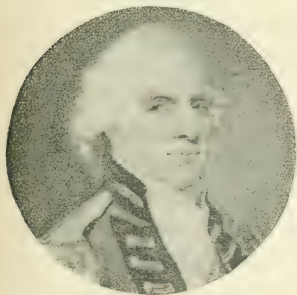
WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. 1708-1778

the fortunes of his country. His only promise to the king was, "Give me your confidence and I will deserve it," while he won the regard of the Americans by saying, "We need their coöperation, and to receive it we must be just to them."

The fourth year, 1758.—The old plan was again adopted. The three points of attack were Louisburg,

* At Palatine village forty were murdered and 250 taken into captivity.

Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne. The colonies were soon ready. New York furnished 3,000 men. Twelve thousand more under Amherst were destined for Louis-



JAMES ABERCROMBIE, 1706-1781

burg, and with him was the immortal Wolfe. General Abercrombie and Lord Howe with 7,000 regulars and 7,000 Americans advanced against Ticonderoga, and General Joseph Forbes was to lead another army against Fort Duquesne. Amherst and Wolfe were successful. The islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward were taken after a campaign of only two months.

Death of Lord Howe.—General Abercrombie and



LORD GEORGE AUGUSTUS HOWE,
1724-1758

Lord Howe were in the forests about Lake George, and with them was the largest army New York had ever seen. Lord Howe commanded a regiment only, but his courage, and his courtesy to the American officers won their regard, while his early death gave a touch of sadness to his career.

The energetic Colonel Bradstreet had everything ready for the transportation of the army to the northern end of Lake George. The landing was safely

made at dawn of the next day, and Lord Howe at once advanced with his regiment. The country was a tangle of forest and stream; they became bewildered in the thicket, met a French scouting party and were fired upon. The French were defeated with considerable loss, but Lord Howe was mortally wounded, and the whole army retreated to the landing place.

Repulse at Ticonderoga.—Abercrombie had not yet learned respect for the opinions of the “Provincials”, and hearing that Ticonderoga was defended by a small force only, ordered its assault, although Stark had reported that the works were very strong and needed artillery for their reduction. No attention was paid to this advice; the assault was made, and the assaulting column was repulsed with heavy loss.

Having now needlessly lost 2,000 men, Abercrombie ordered a retreat, which soon became a rout, with the commanding general at the head. Later it was found that he had been opposed by only 2,000 men, and had he taken Stark’s advice might easily have carried the war to the St. Lawrence.

Capture of Fort Frontenac.—The daring Bradstreet, after much solicitation obtained permission to attempt the capture of Fort Frontenac, as an offset to the shameful defeat just sustained. With him went Major Philip Schuyler, and they were allowed 3,000 men and artillery. With this small force, Bradstreet proceeded to Oswego from Albany, and from that post in open boats across Lake Ontario to the vicinity of the fort. So rapid had been Bradstreet’s movements, the French had not been able to re-enforce the small

garrison, and in two days it capitulated. The fort mounted sixty guns and contained a large amount of ammunition and stores designed for Fort Duquesne, which the French could ill afford to lose. The fall of Fort Frontenac broke the line of French fortifications on the north, and this, with the loss of needed stores, compelled the capitulation of Fort Duquesne.

Fort Stanwix built.—On Bradstreet's return, sickness broke out among his troops and many died, yet he tarried long enough to build Fort Stanwix, on the site of Rome, and before winter reached Albany with his prisoners and all the stores they had been able to bring with them.

The French in extremity.—Montcalm was now in extremity. A severe drouth had ruined Canadian crops, and the people were suffering for food, while France, involved in European wars, could render little aid. But Montcalm was a man of unconquerable spirit. He wrote a friend at this time, "We are not discouraged, but are resolved to find our graves under the ruins of this colony."

SUMMARY

1. The second year, 1756; the campaigns planned and results.
2. The third year, 1757; plans and failures.
3. Pitt to the rescue; his promise to the king; the preparations in England and America.
4. The fourth year, 1758; the campaigns; New York's share; the results; losses and successes.
5. Montcalm; trials and resolution.

CHAPTER XX

THE LAST YEAR, 1759

A year of victories.—It was plain that the final campaign was at hand. Pitt now obtained from his government a vote of £12,000,000 for the American service, and the largest force ever sent across the Atlantic was provided to operate on both land and sea*.

Three campaigns were again marked out; two in New York and one on the St. Lawrence,—the latter to be under command of General Wolfe, who had a fleet bearing 8,000 soldiers.

General Amherst with 12,000 men was to move



JOHN C., EARL OF LOUDON, 1705-1782



LORD JEFFREY AMHERST, 1717-1797

north against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and after reducing these places was expected to coöperate with Wolfe against Quebec. General Prideaux was to take

* The New York assembly voted half a million dollars in bills of credit, and loaned a large amount to the crown.

Niagara, and then move eastward to join the others. To General Stanwix was given the care of the frontier.

Capture of Fort Niagara.—General Prideaux, accompanied by Johnson and his faithful Mohawks, gathered all his forces at Oswego. Early in July he reached Niagara and began the siege. The defence of the fort was stubborn; Prideaux was killed in the first attack and Johnson took command. A large party of French and Indians attempting to re-enforce the fort was defeated, and on the 25th of July the place surrendered.

Capture of Ticonderoga.—Meantime, General Amherst, by way of the Hudson river and Lake George, had brought his army in the vicinity of Ticonderoga. Twice at this point had an army been turned back, defeated. Amherst determined to be cautious. But this time the French commander in those parts had orders not to risk an engagement, but to hinder the enemy as much as possible, and then fall back to the support of his chief. Accordingly he dismantled Ticonderoga and retired to Crown Point, and then to an island in the Sorel river. Here he made a stand and successfully hindered Amherst until winter*.

Capture of Quebec.—The story of Wolfe's campaign against Quebec is a familiar one. Having done all that was possible until re-inforcements arrived, he waited for Prideaux, who never came; for the drums of Amherst, which he never heard. Months of weary waiting, anxiety and fever, wasted the noble comman-

* It was during those months that Amherst built the historic stone fort at Crown Point.

der. At last he called a council of his officers and informed them of his purpose to scale the heights of Abraham and assault Quebec.

Feeble as he was he led that apparently hopeless charge. He and the equally brave Montcalm both fell



JAMES WOLFE, 1727-1759



MARQUIS DE MONTCALM, 1712-1759

in the moment of an English victory; the one exclaiming "Do the French run? Then I die happy;" the other, "'Tis well, for I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

In all the annals of war it is hard to find the record of a more gallant achievement, a more heroic defence or finer examples of patriotic devotion. Every school-boy should know it by heart, as he should, like Wolfe, learn to love "Gray's Elegy", that he too, may comprehend that,

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
All that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Quebec surrendered on the 18th of September. Montreal was taken the next year, and the frontiers of New York, for the first time, were secure.

The treaty of Paris, 1763.—By the treaty of Paris signed in 1763, France lost all her possessions in America, with the exception of two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, allowed as a refuge for her fishermen; while England acquired all east of the Mississippi river, from the frozen regions of the north to the Gulf of Mexico*.

SUMMARY

1. The fifth year, 1759; preparations for final struggle; the plans; expenses; New York's share; bills of credit.
2. Names prominent; Wolfe, Montcalm, and Quebec.
3. Crown Point.
4. Results of campaign.
5. The "Treaty of Paris"; its conditions.

* It was found that France by a secret treaty had ceded her possessions west of the Mississippi river to Spain. In 1803 Spain re-ceded this to France, and a few years after the same territory was purchased from the latter country by the United States.

CHAPTER XXI

NEW YORK AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

Cost of the war.—It is difficult to estimate the cost of war. Into the equation must enter many complex terms. The French and Indian war had cost the colonies 25,000 men and 25 millions of dollars, and it had doubled the national debt of England. During the eight years the colonies had taxed themselves freely for its prosecution until their resources were exhausted. Their industries were prostrated, their commerce was gone, the flower of their population had perished.

On New York this desolation had fallen with double severity, for across her borders the invading armies of France with their savage Indian allies had swept again and again. The frontier settlements were destroyed, and far into the interior farms had been pillaged and villages burned. The colony had no revenues, but was burdened with a debt that it seemed impossible ever to pay, while thousands of her citizens had fallen in battle.

Results of the war.—We may well wonder at the indomitable spirit with which the people of New York faced the future. Instead of despair came a courage born of success. Over the colony there settled a sense of security never before known, as the little volunteer army was disbanded and the men returned

to their homes to take up once more the battle of life in a wilderness. Many of them had to rebuild the homes that had been burned and their families scattered by the invading armies.

Here and there could be seen a solitary chimney in the midst of a heap of ashes, to which no family returned; and small clearings grown up to briars, where the cheerful ring of the settler's ax was heard no more. He had fallen at Crown Point or Ticonderoga or Frontenac or Niagara.

One result of the war could be plainly seen: the people had become intensely attached to the country they had defended, and the spirit of patriotism that animated all classes brought them into closer relations with each other. Beside the men of New York city the backwoods settler had fought, while with both had mingled the New England volunteers, and all had learned to know and respect one another. By the fusing of a complex aggregation of many nationalities, had been formed a homogeneous community. It had transformed a colony of straggling settlements into an independent state, bold, self-reliant, conscious of its power, while it had not strengthened the ties which bound the colonies to the mother-country.

With all its horrors, war has its compensations. The march of armies across the State had necessitated the building of military roads; and through these New York had become more thoroughly known than any other colony, while the forts and block-houses built for defence became, later, the sites of thriving towns.

Thus at Fort Stanwix* grew up the city of Rome; at Fort Schuyler, Utica; and near Niagara the city of Niagara Falls.

The war and the Indians.—There was another and a sad side to this long war. The Indian had suffered, but he had gained nothing, and his intercourse with the whites had not improved him.

The Iroquois brave in his wigwam brooded over the past, and it dawned slowly upon his clouded intellect that he had been used only to defend the homes of his pale-faced neighbors. Then followed the vision of Hiawatha:

“Then a darker, drearier vision passed before me vague
and cloud-like;

I beheld our nation scattered, all forgetful of my
counsels,

Weakened, warring with each other;

Saw the remnants of our people sweeping westward,
wild and woeful,

Like the cloud-rack of a tempest, like the withered
leaves of Autumn!”

In his own way he reasoned: “Hitherto, two nations have contended for my favor, now neither wants me; I am in the way. The whites, no longer engaged in destroying each other, will soon turn to destroy me.”

One of the Indians illustrated this by taking a pair

* Colonel Elias Dayton in 1776 changed the name of Fort Stanwix, Rome, to Fort Schuyler, and during the revolutionary period it was commonly known by the latter name. In this way it has been confounded with Fort Schuyler at Utica.—*Wager's History of Oneida county.*

of shears from the hand of a white woman, and saying as he pointed to one blade, "This French," and pointing to the other "This English." Then placing a piece of cloth between he said, "This Indian," as he brought the blades together, cutting the cloth in two pieces.

Pontiac's rebellion, 1763.—From this feeling of the Indian sprang Pontiac's rebellion, which was a daring effort by certain tribes to recover what had been lost during the war. Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, planned a conspiracy for the massacre of all the garrisons at the forts west of Niagara. The Iroquois were not drawn into this bold scheme which soon failed. Pontiac fell by the hand of one of his own people.

New York in 1760.—The close of the war gave an impetus to immigration not only from the old world, but from the neighboring colonies. The population of the city of New York was about 14,000; that of the colony probably 250,000.

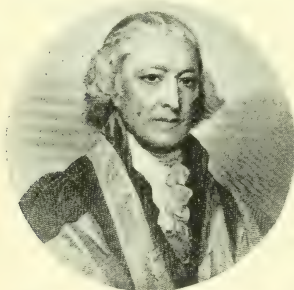
The settlements were scattered about the sound, the bays, and along the rivers, for there were few roads or bridges and transportation was mainly by water. There was no regular public conveyance, and one beginning a journey could never, in advance, determine when, nor indeed where it would end.

Brooklyn was but a hamlet, smaller than several other towns on Long Island, and between it and New York was no established ferry. The passage was made in small, open boats; in winter it was often attended by much real danger.

Post-offices had not been established. Letters were

entrusted to chance conveyance and newspapers were rare. Few factories existed. Each family, except the wealthy class, produced all that was needed for its own use. In the "settlements" domestic animals were few in number, for property was insecure. Game and fish formed a staple in the food of the household. The settler depended on his rifle for protection and for food. Two qualifications ranked high,—skill with the ax, and unerring aim with the flint-lock musket.

Schools existed, but they were few and teachers were poorly paid. Nearly all could read and the few books in a family were read and re-read until quite committed to memory.



WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.
1727-1819

Literary matters were not neglected in the larger towns. The New York Society Library* had been founded in 1754, and in the same year Kings college† had received

its charter.

Outside the towns, life was very primitive indeed. A chance traveller who reached a settler's cabin was made welcome, not only because the people were naturally hospitable, but because another man in the house counted one more for its defence, since being on a

*The "Library" was founded by Dr. Cadwallader Colden, James De Lancey, Philip Livingstone, Peter Schuyler, and others.

† The first president of King's (Columbia) college was Rev. William Samuel Johnson, D.D.

journey he must be armed, for the dread of a lurking savage foe still brooded over every frontier home.

Then again a traveller who had come any great distance could tell them of the outside world from which they seemed so separated. Very often he brought news of friends and acquaintances in other settlements or could tell them of life in the great city of New York.

Sometimes a new family moved into the woods and so would be neighbors to another, not more than a mile or two away. This was always an important event. The first settler felt safer, bade the new-comer welcome, received him into his own cabin, shared with him his food, and assisted him to build the log house which was to be his home.

Life was not so serious as it may seem, for they had their sports. A "bee" was particularly enjoyed. From miles around they gathered to "roll a house" or "log a clearing". At these there were feats of strength and skill, and when the work was done, there was feasting as well.

SUMMARY

1. Cost of the war; effect on New York.
2. Results of the war.
3. Conditions after it.
4. Compensations.
5. The war and the Indians.
6. Pontiac's rebellion.
7. New York in 1760; conditions of life in town and country.

PERIOD VI

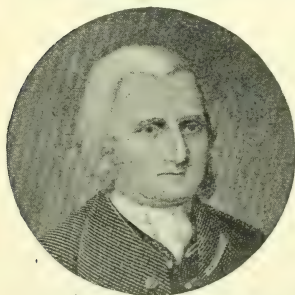
GROWTH OF REVOLUTIONARY SENTIMENT IN NEW YORK, 1760-1775

CHAPTER XXII

THE STAMP ACT

Dr. Colden and the judiciary, 1760.—The year 1760 was an important one in the history of the New York colony. On July 30th Governor DeLancey died suddenly at his home in New York. He was the last native New Yorker to occupy the governor's chair by appointment from the crown.

Dr. Cadwallader Colden, already seventy-three years of age, as senior member of the council succeeded to the office of governor. He had lived long in the colony; he was a man of uncommon endowments, fond of scientific and literary pursuits, and he was a strong royalist.



CADWALLADER COLDEN, 1688-1776

By the death of DeLancey the office of chief justice became vacant. One of Dr. Colden's first acts was to recommend to the crown the appointment of one Pratt of Massachusetts to the

vacancy*. The people resented this act, for they saw in it an attempt to make the judiciary independent of the assembly, and that body refused to vote the salary asked for his support.

Changes in England.—More trouble was in store



GEORGE III. 1738-1820
REIGNED, 1760-1820

for the colonists. On the 25th of October, 1760, George II died, and his grandson Prince George ascended the throne as King George III, when but twenty-two years of age. It would have been hard to find in all Europe a prince more unfitted by habit and character to win and retain the affections of his subjects. Pitt

now retired from the government, to be succeeded by Lord Bute as prime minister, and Bute was a man after King George's own heart.

Taxation without consent.—With the new government in England came plans for raising revenues by taxing the American colonies. Their consent was not asked; there was no thought of giving them representation in parliament; but the king and his ministers early decided that the Americans must assist in paying off the enormous debt of England. Rumors of this design reaching New York, the people freely expressed their indignation. The measure was opposed in parlia-

* It will be noted that this appointment, sanctioned by the crown, constituted one of the charges against King George in the Declaration of Independence.

ment by men who saw in it a sure cause of alienation.

Another new governor, 1761.—While these Eng-



SIR ROBERT MONCKTON, 1726-1782

lish plans were being matured, a new governor was sent out,—Major-General Sir Robert Monckton. As, at this date, the war with France was not terminated, he soon went to the West Indies, taking with him 1,700 New Yorkers as soldiers in the army he was to command, and again Dr. Colden became

acting-governor of the colony.

Restrictions on commerce.—The first part of the plan for taxing the colonies took the form of a more rigid enforcement of the old “Navigation Laws*”. These placed such restrictions on American commerce as practically to prohibit it.

Now came a “swarm of officers” to collect the duties at American ports†. These were accused of compromising with smugglers, and of annoying legitimate trade. They were armed with “writs of assistance”, by means of which they could summon assistance and enter and search stores, ware-houses, and even private dwellings.

The stamp act, 1764.—Of what had gone before, the people complained, but it had been endured. In

* See History of the United States.

† See Declaration of Independence.

1764 parliament devised a new means of taxation known as the stamp act. This, which became a law in March, 1765, provoked resistance in every colony, but most of all in New York. Printed copies of the law, under the heading "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America", were issued and hawked about the streets of the city. The newspapers were filled with threatening articles.

Resistance to the enforcement of the act was plainly hinted at. The more conservative writers declared their loyalty to England, but as plainly denied the right of direct taxation. It was understood that this tax was intended to reimburse England for the cost of the French and Indian war. The people of New York felt that they had suffered enough in that cause, and declared that they had defended the sovereignty of England quite as much as their own rights.

The stamp act congress, 1765.—Opposition to the stamp act was still further increased by the action of the Massachusetts assembly in calling for a colonial convention to meet in New York city in October of that year, 1765.

To this convention, known as the "stamp act congress", nine colonies sent delegates. It was in session two weeks and prepared and published three able state papers: "A declaration of rights", written by John Cruger of New York; "A memorial to parliament", by Robert R. Livingstone of New York; and a "petition to the king", by James Otis of Massachusetts.

The protests of the people; stamp act riot.—The people of New York were very pronounced in

their opposition to the stamp act. Holt's New York Gazette, an influential journal, indicated that if the colonists were taxed without their consent they would be very likely "to seek a change".

The stamps arrived in New York while the congress was in session. The excitement became more intense. As an indication of the general feeling hand-bills like the following were circulated:

" PRO PATRIA "

" The first man that either distributes or makes use of stamped paper, let him take care of his house, person, and effects. " WE DARE "

James McEvors, who had been appointed "stamp distributor" for the city, refused to receive the stamps and resigned his office. The only thing that could be done was to turn them over to Governor Colden, who placed them in the fort for safe keeping.

On the first day of November, 1765, while the stamped paper was safely locked up in the fort, a crowd of citizens assembled in "the fields" (city hall park) where they erected a gallows. On it they hung two effigies: one of Governor Colden, holding in his hand a sheet of the stamped paper, and another, representing the devil with a boot



JOHN STUART, EARL OF BUTE.
1713-1792

in his hand, intended as a satire on the Earl of Bute.

Another band carried an effigy of the governor to

the walls of the fort, and, in the presence of the troops on the ramparts, demanded the stamps. This demand being refused, they took the governor's carriage, which had been left outside the fort, placed the effigy in it, spiked all the guns on the battery, and then joining the other band at the fields, they burned together the governor, the carriage, the devil, and the boot.

There was not entire harmony, by any means. Some of the delegates to the congress had declared that resistance was treason,—and so it was. The New York delegates had not attached their signatures to the addresses, but the assembly approved the proceedings and again declared that “all necessary aid to the crown must be the free gift of the people”. The merchants, as a rule, were timid, but many resolutely opposed the stamp act. From among these a “committee of correspondence”* was appointed, whose duty it was to correspond with the residents of other colonies and agree upon a general policy.

The futility of any attempt to enforce the use of the stamped paper soon became apparent and the packages were handed over to Mayor Cruger, who promised to be responsible for their “safe preservation”.

Non-importation agreement, 1765.—On the day before the stamp act was to go into effect (Nov. 1, 1765) a great meeting of New York merchants was held. So strong was the feeling of resentment that they pledged

* This committee was composed of Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson.

themselves not to import goods from England after the first day of January following. This was with the certain knowledge that their trade would be ruined. The citizens warmly supported the merchants in this action. They began, rich and poor alike, to wear home-spun and to deny themselves those luxuries that could not be produced at home. The effect on British commerce was disastrous. Orders for goods for the colonies were cancelled, and ships returned from this country with the goods they had brought out, for no purchasers could be found.

William Pitt: Sir Henry Moore, governor, 1765.—William Pitt, the friend of America, was carried from his sick-bed to the house of lords that he might say there, “I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects so lost to every sense of justice as tamely to give up their liberties would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.” He declared that the stamp act must be repealed.

In the early part of November, 1765, Governor Moore arrived. He was a man of very agreeable manners, and proposed, if possible, to win the good will of the people he had come to govern.

Calling the council together, the first question he asked was “Can the stamp act be enforced?” To this he received an emphatic “No!” He next proposed that the fort should be thrown open, and in spite of Dr. Colden’s objections this was done*.

* The fort was intended as a protection for the colonists against the Indians. It had been closed, to protect the governor from an offended people.

The assembly which Dr. Colden had prorogued was called together once more, and the people, happy in the thought of peace, congratulated the governor, while they relaxed not one whit of their opposition to the acts of the government that had sent him.

The sons of liberty, 1766-1767.—Even before the Zenger trial there had been an organization known as the “sons of liberty”, and in that trial they took an important part in the defence of Zenger. Until 1766 they had been most active in New York. In January of that year they pledged themselves, their lives, their fortunes, to prevent effectually the enforcement of the stamp act, and declared there was no safety for the colonies “except in a firm union of the whole”.

From that day this organization spread to the other colonies. Its members constituted, at that time, the radical part of the population. They opposed all concessions to English authority. They first foresaw independence, not for a nation, but for the several colonies, and were the first to propose armed resistance. They welcomed every event that widened the gulf between the colonies and the mother-country, and they proved their faith by being ready for the conflict when it came.

The tories.—At the other extreme were the royalists, or tories. They would grant everything England asked. They defended every measure of taxation. They looked upon the sons of liberty and their associates as rebels against the authority of the king, and saw no future for the colony but as a dependency of Great Britain.

The conservatives.—Between these extremes stood

the great mass of the people. They deplored the tyranny of the English ministry, but hoped for reconciliation. They had suffered enough from French and Indian troubles. They desired peace above all else, and to obtain it were willing to wait and suffer still. To win over this element both the other parties applied all their arts; in the end most of the conservatives joined the patriots.

Repeal of the stamp act, 1766.—Their utter in-



EDMUND BURKE, 1729-1797

ability to enforce the provisions of the stamp act, together with the active opposition of Pitt, Barre, and Burke, finally induced the British ministry to consent to its repeal (March 13, 1766).

When the news reached New York (May 20) it was welcomed by the people as a sign of concession from the

king. Arrangements were at once made to celebrate his twenty-fifth birth-day, which would occur on the 4th of June. Their manner of doing this was characteristic of the times, but would hardly be allowed in the same place (city hall park) to-day. They roasted an ox and provided twenty-five barrels of beer, a hogs-head of rum, and sugar and all necessary ingredients for making punch. On a pole they suspended twenty-five tar-barrels, and near by placed twenty-five cannon. The governor attended, the flag of England was unfurled, the band played "God save the king", and every one indulged in most extravagant revelry.

They went beyond this; the people petitioned the

assembly to erect a statue to Pitt. The request was granted, and on account of his "benignity", one to king George was voted also. Pitt's statue was to be in brass and the king's in bronze; but Pitt's was finally made of marble, and the king's of lead.

SUMMARY

1. Death of Governor DeLancey, 1760.
 2. Dr. Colden, governor; his character.
 3. Dr. Colden and the judiciary.
 4. Changes in England; character of George III.
- Taxation without consent; excuse for.
5. Restrictions on American commerce.
 6. Direct taxation.
 7. Effect of these measures in New York.
 8. The stamp act congress of 1765; action of; New York's share in.
 9. The stamp act riots in New York; Holt's New York Gazette; "Pro Patria".
 10. The great meeting in "the fields."
 11. The committee of correspondence.
 12. The "non-importation agreement" in New York.
 13. William Pitt in parliament.
 14. Arrival of Governor Moore; his acts.
 15. The assembly recalled.
 16. The "Sons of Liberty" and their action.
 17. The tories and their ideas.
 18. The conservatives; the three parties.
 19. Repeal of the stamp act; Pitt, Barre, and Burke; the news in New York; the celebration.
 20. The two statues.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST CONFLICT OF THE REVOLUTION

The mutiny act.—When their rejoicings were over, it was discovered that the king and parliament were not so generous as had been supposed. With the repeal of the stamp act came the passage of the “mutiny act”*, by which the colonists were to furnish free quarters to the king’s troops.

The burden would fall most heavily on New York, it being the headquarters of the royal troops†. The assembly voted only a limited supply bill, declaring that troops were unnecessary. This action produced irritation which soon found expression among the soldiery.

The liberty pole.—When the king’s birthday was celebrated, there had been erected what came to be known as “the liberty pole”. It bore the equivocal inscription, “The King, Pitt, and Liberty.” This the soldiers cut down (Aug., 1760), and the next day a large crowd assembled to replace it. The soldiers jeered at them and prodded citizens with their bayonets, and severely wounded two of them. In September the pole was again cut down and again replaced. This time it was securely fastened with iron bands.

* See Declaration of Independence.

† A standing army of twenty battalions was kept in America.

New York disfranchised.—When news of the action of the New York assembly on the “supply bill” reached England, the indignation of the king and parliament knew no bounds. They spent whole days in devising some plan to bring the refractory colony to terms. Little else was talked of but the free language of the New York press, the defiant conduct of the sons of liberty, and the petition of the New York merchants. This petition was a temperate paper, stating the difficulties in which they were placed, and asking for more generous treatment in the matter of duties.

In May, 1767, the measure was perfected which, it was thought, would bring New York to terms. Its assembly having defied the king it should be dissolved and the colony disfranchised. It was declared that the other colonies had been “refractory”, but New York had added “impudence”. By the provisions of the new measure of parliament of June, 1767, the assembly of New York was forbidden to exercise any further legislative functions until it conformed to the requirements of the king by making provision for British troops.

At the same time a new system of taxation was devised. Duties were placed upon paper, glass, tea, and painters’ colors, and commissioners of customs were established. “Writs of assistance” were authorized, and indemnity for losses sustained during stamp act riots was required. The reply of the assembly was to vote such a supply bill as they thought sufficient, and then to continue their sessions as though nothing had happened* until permanently dissolved by Governor

* See Mrs. Lamb’s “History of the City of New York”, i.738.

Moore (February 2, 1768), and a new election was ordered.

The new assembly elected in the same month was as difficult to manage as the one that had been dissolved. Governor Moore was conciliatory. His amiable temperament made him anxious to please his people, while his traditional sympathies were all with King George. In the midst of his efforts to harmonize two such antagonistic elements he suddenly died (September, 1769), and again the government passed into the hands of Dr. Colden.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768.—So early as 1764 the Six Nations began to make complaints about the fraudulent seizure of their lands, under pretended patents. Among the lands in dispute were 700,000 acres between the Hudson and the Mohawk. This complaint became so pronounced that in 1768 Sir William Johnson was authorized to confer with the Indians in regard to its settlement.

As lands lying in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia were also in dispute Sir William concluded to call a congress at Fort Stanwix. This met September, 1768. More than 3,000 Indians were present. The agreement finally gave to the Indians £2,000 in money and goods, on condition of their releasing to the crown the lands in dispute. This purchase included those tracts recovered by Governor Bellomont.

Golden Hill, 1770.—The old animosity which the soldiers felt for the people cropped out again in an attack upon the liberty pole, and this finally culminated in what is known as "The Golden Hill Conflict".

One pole had been cut down by the soldiers in the night time, and when the sons of liberty had replaced it with a better one they determined to guard it.

The attempts of the soldiers to cut this one resulted in several conflicts. At length it was cut down, sawn in pieces, and piled in front of the building in which the sons held their meetings.

This resulted in a general meeting of all the sons of liberty, in which it was resolved that any soldier found on the streets after roll-call "should be treated as a common enemy", and a committee was appointed to enforce the resolution.

On the evening of January 18, Isaac Sears with a few other sons of liberty caught some soldiers posting bills ridiculing the resolutions; whereupon they seized the offenders and were marching them off to the mayor's office, when they were met by a larger band of soldiers who attempted a rescue. More sons gathered, followed by more soldiers, and the fight became general. The battle was chiefly with clubs and cart stakes though a few used cutlasses. Gradually the soldiers were driven toward what was known as Golden Hill*. Here the fight raged for some time; many were wounded and several killed before the officers came and took the troops back to the fort†.

* A district embraced between the present streets of Cliff, William, John, and Fulton.

† It was at this time that Governor Colden wrote to the British ministry: "Whatever happens in this place has the greatest influence on the other colonies. They have their eyes perpetually on it and are governed accordingly."

This and not Lexington was the first conflict of the revolution. During these troubles messages of sympathy and encouragement were constantly passing back and forth between New York and Boston.

SUMMARY

1. The "mutiny act" in New York.
2. The first liberty pole.
3. New York disfranchised, 1767; reasons for; action of parliament.
4. The new system of taxation; writs of assistance.
5. Action of the assembly, and its dissolution, 1768.
6. The new assembly; action of.
7. The treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768.
8. The Golden Hill contest, 1770; story of.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TAX ON TEA

Governor Dunmore.—The years 1771 and 1772 were comparatively peaceful in New York. The new governor, the earl of Dunmore, had arrived in October, 1770, and had been received with every show of loyalty by the colonists. He declined the salary which the assembly voted him on the ground that the governor was thereafter to be paid by the crown.



EARL OF DUNMORE, 1732-1809

This was a part of the plan of disfranchisement. It was expected that the crown would more than reimburse itself from the duties levied on the ports under the tax-bill about to go into effect.

Dunmore was not fond of the duties of his office, preferring the pleasures of the chase, for which there were abundant opportunities in the territory he had come to govern. The only matter in which he distinguished himself was in a suit against Lieutenant-Governor Colden for his salary as governor during the half-year that Colden had served and Dunmore had been preparing to come to New York. The earl soon wearied of the office and was transferred to Virginia.

Governor Tryon.—He was succeeded by Sir William Tryon, July, 1771, who had tried to govern North Carolina but had failed. As Tryon was the last Englishman ever sent over to govern New York, it is well to know more of the man. In Carolina he had made himself odious by his petty tyranny. On his arrival in New York he at once made the acquaintance of the landed aristocracy, and sedulously courted their favor. At the same time he listened with apparent interest to the complaints of the merchants and assured them that their rights should be protected. While Tryon flattered all, he was at the same time cautious. He took up his abode inside the fort, in the house provided for him*.

Meeting of the assembly, 1772.—Governor Tryon prorogued the assembly until 1772, when at its first meeting he manifested a most ardent desire “to co-operate in every measure that will promote the honor and dignity of his majesty’s government and advance the felicity of a people distinguished by their loyalty to the best of sovereigns”. To this complimentary

* One event during Governor Tryon’s term shows the deep undercurrent of charity which was not disturbed by the mad tide of political events that on the surface was sweeping everything before it. This was the founding in 1773 of the “New York hospital” by New York citizens. It was erected at a point on Broadway at the head of Pearl street, then far out of town. The main building was finished in time to serve as barracks for British soldiers during the revolution, and it sheltered many a Union soldier during the civil war. In 1873 it was demolished and its site covered with blocks of stores.

address the assembly replied with expressions of their great confidence in the wisdom and kindness of their new governor.

Tryon county.—The governor now visited the Mohawk country (1772), and reviewed the militia which Sir William Johnson had organized and which was so soon to be turned against the colony. He endeavored to perpetuate his name in the new county formed from Albany, Tryon county (see map, page 225); and he returned to New York well pleased with the people he had been sent to govern. Indeed, it now seems that it would have been an easy matter for England at that period to conciliate her colonies.

Restrictions on trade.—A change in the ministry of England (1770) had procured the repeal of all duties except that on tea. The city of New York was suffering from the effects of the “non-importation agreement”, and there was a strong feeling in favor of the removal of all restrictions on trade.

Rhode Island had already removed them, and the other colonies were keeping the agreement in a half-hearted manner, while New York had remained entirely faithful to it. During five years her trade had been prostrated and her ruined merchants began to feel that they had suffered enough.

The tax on tea.—The “committee of one hundred” favored the removal of all restrictions on importations with the single exception of tea. The East India company, which had a monopoly of the tea-trade, being on the verge of bankruptcy was willing to pay England twice the amount of the tax if trade with the colonies could be resumed.

King George and his ministry could not yield to their refractory colonies, so another plan was devised to save the pride of England and pacify the colonies. The tax should not be removed, but the duty which the East India company paid should be remitted; then the colonies could pay the tax and still get their tea cheaper than before.

But the Americans were not haggling over the price of tea; they were standing for the principle of "no taxation without representation". Tea was shipped to the four principal ports at the same time,—to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. When news of this plan reached the colonies, the whole country was in arms.

The newspapers were filled with communications warning the people not to touch the tea; merchants who had favored submission were afraid to receive it, and the agents for its sale withdrew. Thereupon it was announced that on its arrival the government would take charge of the tea.

The imported tea.—The ship for Boston reached its destination first. The whole cargo was thrown overboard to mix with the brine of the bay. On the very day that this was being done in Boston, New York was flooded with hand-bills sent out by the sons of liberty calling for a meeting of "all the friends of liberty" at one o'clock the next day, at the city hall. A large crowd assembled. It was addressed by John Lamb and Robert R. Livingstone. The latter stated that he had a message from the governor, who declared that the tea should be put into the fort at noon-day, remain there until "the king's orders in regard to it

were known", and should not be taken out except at noon-day.

When asked if this was satisfactory, the people answered with a shout "No! no! no!" Mr Lamb then asked if the tea should be landed under any circumstances; to which there was an immediate and unanimous cry of "No! no! no!"

A series of resolutions was then adopted which declared that "whoever should aid or abet the introduction of tea while it was subject to duty or should handle, cart or store the same or buy or sell it" should be considered "an enemy to the liberties of America"; that whether those duties were paid in England or America their liberties would be equally affected; and lastly, that "whosoever shall transgress any of these resolutions, we will not deal with nor employ nor have any connection with him*."

The tea-ship was daily expected, but the winter months went by and it did not come. In April, 1774, Governor Tryon and family sailed for England, and for the fifth and last time the government came into the hands of Dr. Colden.

The Mohawks and the tea.—Hardly had Tryon's ship disappeared through the narrows, when the tea-ship *Nancy* appeared. The pilot refused to bring her into port. Taking their cue from Boston, an organization from among the sons of liberty was formed calling themselves "Mohawks". They agreed to look after the tea, and they kept their word. The captain was allowed to go ashore to consult with his consignee and

* This is the first "boycott" recorded in our State.

to purchase supplies. No one else was permitted to land from his ship. Circulars were posted asking the people to come together at a given hour "to meet the captain of the tea-ship". Thousands came. The captain, Lockyear, came out upon the veranda of his hotel, and was introduced to the populace. They cheered him, the bands played, and while the bells tolled and flags were flying the crowd escorted Captain Lockyear to his ship, and saw him off*. Another ship, *The London*, came with a small quantity of tea on board, which was summarily thrown into the sea. So ended this attempt at taxation.

SUMMARY

1. Dunmore and Tryon, the last English governors; character of each.

2. Founding of New York City Hospital, 1773.

3. Tryon and the assembly.

4. Tryon's visit to the Mohawks; Tryon county.

5. Difficulty caused by "non-importation agreement".

6. The merchants' committee of one hundred and the tax.

7. A new plan for getting the tax money.

8. Opinions of the people.

9. Meeting in city hall on tax; resolutions passed.

10. Departure of Tryon and arrival of the tea-ship; action of the sons of liberty.

* The president of Kings college, Dr. Myles Cooper, was a staunch loyalist, and refused to allow the college flag to be displayed. See page 222.

CHAPTER XXV

CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES

The great meeting in “the fields”, 1774.—On May 16, 1774, a meeting of citizens was called to decide on some plan of concerted action. This meeting appointed the “committee of fifty-one” to correspond with the other colonies in an effort to secure united action among them.



JAMES DUANE. 1733-1797

The “committee of fifty-one” appointed a sub-committee of four: Alexander McDougal, Isaac Low, James Duane, John Jay. This committee recommended a general congress of deputies from all the colonies, and wrote to Boston asking the patriots there to name the time and place of meeting. This action was too slow for the sons of liberty, and they issued a call for a general meeting in “the fields” on July 6.

This gathering was a momentous one in the history of the country; an immense concourse responded to the call. They were addressed by a stripling whom few knew, but of whom the whole country was, later,

to hear much. This was Alexander Hamilton, then but seventeen, and a student in King's college.

His speech, an earnest of his future career, fired the hearts of the people. They passed resolutions condemning "the Boston port bill", and took measures to raise funds for the benefit of the sufferers from that act.

They approved the action of the "committee of fifty-one", but insisted that the non-intercourse agreement should be enforced until all duties were removed.

Delegates to the continental congress, 1775.—

The plan for a general congress having been agreed upon, the "committee of fifty-one" made its nominations: Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, James Duane, and John Jay.

Again appeared the three parties, and the election of this delegation was a test of their strength. The dele-

gates nominated represented the sober, conservative element of New York. The leader of this party was John Jay, a Huguenot, destined thereafter to be distinguished as the first chief justice of our State and of the United States. The leader of the radical wing was Alexander McDougall, a Scotchman.

These two parties sought the same end but by different means. The radicals approved of a delegation to congress, but tried to substitute men of their own

PHILIP LIVINGSTON. 1716-1778

party in its membership, while the efforts of the tories were turned in the direction of an attempt to defeat the election.

The delegates were, however, elected by a majority and were soon on their way to Philadelphia, where the congress was to meet. When they took their departure they were escorted to the water's edge by a large delegation of citizens who bade them "God-speed". It was, in those days, a long journey, and the affairs in which they were to take part were most serious. New York has never had occasion to regret the selection made, nor to apologize for the part those delegates took in the first continental congress.

The first continental congress, 1774.—In this congress which met at Philadelphia September 5, 1774, were laid the foundations of American independence.

Five historic papers were put forth by this body: 1. An address to the people of the colonies; 2. An address to the Canadians; 3. An address to the people of Great Britain; 4. An address to the King; 5. A declaration of rights.

The declaration of rights.—The last was the composition of John Jay. It contained a terse statement of the rights claimed by the colonists, which were: 1. The right to life, liberty, and property; 2. The right to tax themselves; 3. The right to assemble peaceably to petition for the redress of grievances; 4. The right to enjoy all the privileges of Englishmen; 5. All the rights granted by the colonial charters.

At the first meeting of the New York assembly after this continental congress, the venerable Governor

Colden, in his message, was very conservative. He spoke of the "alarming crisis", and urged the assembly to countenance all measures calculated to increase the public distress.

End of the assembly.—There was an attempt by the patriotic side of the assembly to obtain an indorsement of the action of the continental congress, but it failed by a vote of eleven to twelve,—so small was the recognition then given to the services of men whose names have since been held in highest honor.

The assembly, being thus constituted, naturally refused to choose delegates to the second continental congress; and fortunately, for their refusal opened up another and a better way. If this assembly was too conservative for the people, it was yet too radical for the governor. It met on April 3, 1775, and adjourned to May 3. Two days before the assembly was to meet it was prorogued by the governor and it never met again*.

The committee of sixty.—It now became necessary to choose delegates to the Philadelphia congress, and the people set about it in their own way. The old committees of "one hundred" and of "fifty-one"

* Of the 11 to 12 vote Garrier said to Rochford, "That one vote was worth a million sterling." In reply it was said, "It is worth nothing; for New York will act with the other colonies,—she only differs in her modes." Of this assembly, Dr. Colden wrote to Dartmouth: "The assembly is to meet next Tuesday. If I find there will not be a majority for prudent measures, I shall incline to prorogue them for a short time."

had accomplished the tasks assigned them and were dissolved. With their governor absent from the colony, their assembly prorogued, the patriotic element of New York, now thoroughly united, chose a "committee of sixty" to carry into execution the suggestions of the continental congress.

A "provincial convention".—The first step of this committee was to issue a call to the counties, asking them to send delegates to a "provincial convention" which should choose New York's delegates to the second continental congress.

The counties complied, and their delegates met at the exchange in New York on April 20, 1775. The first delegation to congress was continued; and to it were added the names of George Clinton, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Robert R. Livingston and Philip Schuyler. New York's delegation now consisted of ten members,—men who for ability, character, experience and patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty had no superiors. Having completed the business for which it was convened, this convention adjourned sine die, April 22, 1775.

News of Lexington.—The next day, Sunday, April 23, as the people were quietly wending their way to church, a horseman came dashing through the city streets telling, as he rode, the startling news of the fight at Lexington.

If there had ever been any hope of a peaceful settlement of their difficulties, it was now dissipated. Only one other such day has ever been known in New York, and that was the Sunday when all over the north was

flashed the news that Fort Sumter had been fired upon. The churches were deserted, houses were empty, and here and there as the news spread, people gathered in groups upon the streets and discussed the event. There was a feeling that New York must not be left behind Massachusetts.

Seizure of British property.—In the bay were two vessels loaded with provisions for the British troops in Boston. The arms and ammunition in the city hall were seized, and a force headed by those two impetuous leaders, Isaac Sears and John Lamb, soon had possession of the cargo of provisions valued at £80,000. On Monday, volunteer companies formed and paraded; the custom house was seized; New York was in rebellion.

As the news spread, men left their farms, shops were closed, schools were deserted, and men and boys flocked in to join the ranks of the companies forming.

The ability of this people to govern themselves was now thoroughly tested. There was no confusion. The "committee of sixty" did not enlarge its own powers, but instead, issued a call for the election by the freeholders of a new "committee of one hundred", as they quaintly said, "for the present unhappy exigency of affairs". The same call also asked the freeholders to elect delegates to a "provincial congress" to meet in New York.

The New York provincial congress, 1775.—This new committee met and solemnly resolved "to stand or fall with the liberties of the colonies". The

“provincial congress of New York”, which was to take the place of the now defunct assembly, was chosen and held its first meeting, May 22.

So was the government of the colony provided for until, under the advice of congress, it should frame a constitution and erect a new and permanent form of government.

The “committee of one hundred” took charge of municipal affairs. It sent addresses to the lord-mayor and corporation of London and to Lieutenant-Governor Colden, in which it said: “This city is as one man in the cause of liberty. All the horrors of civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of parliament.”

It also designated April 19, 1775, as the day on which the rule of England ceased and the new government began.

The situation.—New York was now thoroughly committed to revolution. A governing body had been established, the “provincial congress”, entirely independent of and owing no allegiance to the government of England. This had been done by the open, free vote of the people of the colony. By that act they had cut the last tie that bound them to the mother-country.

While this movement had been precipitated by the radical element, it had been guided by the foremost minds in the colony. The century that has passed since that day only brings into stronger relief the sublime devotion of those men to the cause of human liberty.

Patriots and tories.—There were now but two parties in New York; these



MYLES COOPER, 1735-

came to be known as “patriots” and “tories”. President Cooper of Kings college, a thorough royalist, had written much on the subject of “colonial relation to England”. With him remained the college faculty, but his pupils soon found their way into the patriot

ranks. Friends of the established church, by natural sympathy, were tories. So were many of the large landholders and recent immigrants from England. But they were in a hopeless minority. To the patriots gathered all the old Dutch residents, the Huguenots, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and the English from the New England colonies. The merchants were divided, but mechanics and laborers, generally, were unanimous for the cause of liberty.

SUMMARY

1. Great meeting in the fields; committee of “fifty-one”; duty of; July 6, 1774.
2. Hamilton’s address; action at meeting.
3. Delegates to first continental congress; contest of three parties over their election.
4. Departure of delegates.
5. First continental congress; action of.
6. Governor Colden on the “crisis”.
7. Action of New York assembly.

8. English comment on it.
9. Assembly prorogued.
10. New York's first provincial convention, April 20, 1775.
11. Delegation to second continental congress.
12. The news from Lexington; action of New York patriots.
13. Appointment of the committee of sixty, and its action.
14. The new committee of one hundred, 1775.
15. The first provincial congress of New York.
16. Important date, April 19, 1775.
17. Situation in New York; patriots and tories.

PERIOD VII

NEW YORK IN THE REVOLUTION

1775-1783

CHAPTER XXVI

BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

Hostilities begun, 1775.—Having now undertaken to maintain their rights by force of arms, the colonies no longer hesitated. New York's delegates joined those of Massachusetts, and on May 8 proceeded on their journey to Philadelphia.

The first American victory.—Scarcely had they departed, when a party of volunteers under Ethan Allen were on their way to the old, historic fortress, Ticonderoga. There was much in its history to inspire the thought of its capture, and besides guarding the route to Quebec it contained more than one hundred cannon and large quantities of military stores. When, on the early morning of May 10, the towering form of Ethan Allen, saber in hand, startled its sleeping commander, there had been no warning, and there was, therefore, neither opportunity for defence nor time for parley. The surrender of Crown Point followed, and Benedict Arnold, making a dash for Lake Champlain, took the only British ship on the lake. So it happened that the first forts taken from the British were on New York soil, and there the British garrison laid down their arms.

NEW YORK DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Fort Du La Roche

Fort Fanning

- Fort
- Red
- Village

about 1 hour
Crown Point
Fort Ticonderoga

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

about 1 hour

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about 1 hour

about 1 hour

THE M. N. CO.



In New York city, a regiment of English troops about to embark for Boston was stopped by a band of unarmed sons of liberty with Colonel Marinus Willett at their head. Their first intention was to make the whole regiment prisoners of war. They were finally allowed to depart, after giving up several cart-loads of extra guns which they were taking with them.

These events gave a new direction to American affairs. The strife which had been entered upon for rights became a war for independence, and the continental congress, which had been intended as an advisory council, became a governing body.

Washington commander-in-chief.—On June 15, congress elected Washington commander-in-chief; the next day he accepted the office and on the 22d was on his way to Boston. He must pass through New York. The patriots there wished to give the new commander-in-chief an appropriate welcome, but they did not, as yet, wish to offend Governor Tryon*.

Each honored guest was to be met and escorted into town by a force of militia. The question arose, "What if both should arrive at the same hour?" The militia-colonel was equal to the occasion. Washington would come by land and cross the Hudson; Tryon would land at the Battery. The colonel placed his troops half-way between the two landing places, prepared to face either way. Fortunately Washington was the first to arrive, and the colonel was saved the embarrassment of attempting to bow in two directions at the same time.

* Who had already entered the bay, on his return from England.

Washington was received by the provincial congress with very stiff formality, but later Tryon was welcomed with great demonstrations by the tories.

The Johnsons.—In the interior of New York, affairs were assuming a critical condition. Sir William Johnson had died, but he was succeeded in his influence over the Indians by his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, while his large estate near the present village of Amsterdam had been inherited by his son, Sir John. These two espoused the cause of England and kept toryism alive in the Mohawk Valley.

Colonel Guy Johnson held a council of the six nations at Oswego, where he formed an alliance of all the Iroquois with the English.

The patriots under the advice of General Schuyler put forth every effort to have the Indians remain neutral in the impending conflict. Had England done the same, she would have escaped much harsh criticism, at home and abroad, and the war would have lacked many of its barbarities*. In this effort, the Americans failed (doubtless through their inability to furnish the necessary "presents"), and the influence of the Johnsons, thenceforth, became supreme among all the Iroquois.

Expedition against Canada, 1775.—During the summer months, interest had centered mainly in the stirring events taking place around Boston, but with the approach of winter the feeling became general that something must be done to protect the frontiers of New York.

*See Declaration of Independence.

For this purpose an expedition against Montreal was determined upon, contrary to the advice even of the continental congress. General Philip Schuyler was placed in command, but he fell ill and the expedition was led by General Richard Montgomery.

Capture of Montreal.—Montgomery, though still a young man, had seen much service in the royal army. He had been with Wolfe at Quebec, and was a bold, efficient leader. Descending Lake Champlain with his 800 militia he took Fort Chambly and the small post at St. Johns, and hardly pausing to rest, pushed on to Montreal, which was also soon taken.

While this little band of heroes was shivering before Montreal, another and equally brave company was forcing its way through the dense forests of New Hampshire to Quebec. This was a small detachment from Washington's army under Benedict Arnold. Starving, freezing, having lost nearly one-half their number, they suddenly appeared near Quebec, so emaciated that they seemed to the Canadians an army of spectres.

Death of General Montgomery.—The two commanders soon joined forces and determined upon the immediate capture of Quebec. While they made their preparations, Christmas passed, and on the last day but one of 1775, the assault was ordered. With Montgomery were Captain John Lamb of New York and a young lad, —Aaron Burr. In the charge



RICHARD MONTGOMERY, 1736-1775

upon the works, Arnold and Lamb were severely wounded,—the latter being taken prisoner,—and Montgomery fell mortally wounded at the head of the column, shouting, “Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your commander leads! Forward! Quebec is ours!”

Quebec was not taken, but the moral effect of the campaign was very great. The remnant of that brave band struggled back through the deep Canadian snows to Ticonderoga, but it had convinced the world that the Americans were in earnest, and would fight.

This campaign had not been made against Canada but against the English soldiery there. From the first it had been hoped that the Canadians would make common cause with the colonies.

The embassy to Canada, 1776.—Very early in the spring of 1776, congress sent a delegation, with Dr. Franklin at its head, fully empowered to treat with the Canadians.

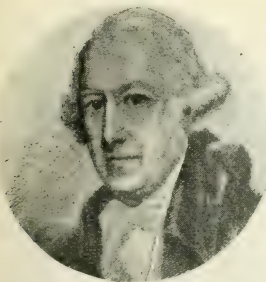
Franklin was then seventy-two years of age, yet, at the call of his country, he willingly undertook this tedious journey of more than 500 miles. The mission was not successful. Through the influence of the British soldiery, Canada, as well as the Iroquois confederacy, was lost to the Americans.

Situation in New York city.—The winter had been a gloomy one for New York. Completely shut in by sea, where English men-of-war controlled every thing, the city had communication only by land. Suspicion and fear possessed the minds of all. The governor, apprehensive for his own safety, had taken

up his quarters on board the "*Duchess of Gordon*" in the bay, from which he had free communication with the city. From that safe retreat he fostered the spirit of toryism on shore. Within the city, the differences which had separated patriots and tories widened into intense bitterness. The taunts of the tories, the threats of invasion, the work of Tryon's emissaries, all maddened the people, and personal encounters became common.

Business in the city was at a standstill; work could not be obtained at any price, and those who would employ had no means with which to pay. All who could go, fled to the country. Some, discouraged, forsook the patriot cause, but the great mass of the people remained true and urged their leaders to more active operations.

Sears and Rivington.—The one royalist printer in the city was James Rivington. In his paper, the *Royal Gazette*, he had denounced the Americans and had been particularly severe on Isaac Sears, who had now removed to New Haven. Late in November, Sears rode into town at the head of seventy-five Connecticut horsemen, placed a



JAMES RIVINGTON, 1724-1802

guard about Rivington's printing-house, forced open the doors, smashed the presses, and, loading the type into sacks, carried it away to be melted into bullets. The cool-headed men of the city deplored the act,

while the committee of safety condemned it as a violation of the right of free speech.

Johnson and his tories, 1776.—In the month of



SIR JOHN JOHNSON. 1742-1830

January General Schuyler undertook a most dangerous task. The Johnsons continued to add fuel to the flames that they had kindled in the central part of New York. It was reported that Sir John Johnson had gathered about him his Scotch highlander tenants and Indian allies and intended

to devastate the Mohawk Valley. The New York congress, by the advice of the continental congress, ordered General Schuyler to take measures for disarming these hostile forces.

At the head of a body of troops, Schuyler marched



RESIDENCE OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

from Albany to the Johnson estate on the Mohawk

river, and demanded, as the only terms of peace, the immediate surrender of all the arms and supplies in the hands of the tories and Indians under his leadership. He also demanded Johnson's individual parole of honor that he would not in any way do injury to the patriot cause. On January 19, 1776, the stores were delivered at Johnstown, and a force of Scotch highlanders laid down their arms.

SUMMARY

1. First offensive operations, 1775; Ticonderoga, Crown Point; New York city.
2. The continental congress.
3. Washington and Tryon in New York.
4. The Johnsons.
5. The Iroquois.
6. Expedition against Canada; Montgomery and Arnold; Aaron Burr and Captain Lamb.
7. The embassy to Canada.
8. New York city and Tyron.
9. Sears and Rivington.
10. Johnson; his tories and General Schuyler.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO NEW YORK, 1776

New York called disloyal.—Two misfortunes happened to New York in January.



CHARLES LEE, 1731-1782

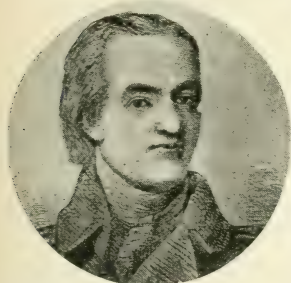
Sears, who had much more valor than discretion, finding himself not appreciated in New York made his way to Washington's camp at Cambridge. There he made the acquaintance of General Charles Lee. Sears convinced Lee, and Lee convinced Washington, that

New York was rapidly drifting into toryism. In this statement there was not one word of truth, yet Lee to his great delight was commissioned to proceed to New York and put matters to rights in that city. The first intimation New York had of his appointment was his appearance, borne upon a litter (for he had the gout), at the head of 1,500 Connecticut troops, with Sears as his adjutant. It was an insult to the patriotism of the city.

A British squadron in the bay.—On the same day Sir Henry Clinton appeared in the harbor with a British squadron. It is doubtful which party created most apprehension in the city. Lee undertook to assume com-

mand at once. He was a man of small ability, and soon found that the problem which faced him was much more difficult than he had supposed. The people were entirely satisfied, when, in March following, he was assigned to another command in the south.

General Lee was succeeded temporarily by General



WILLIAM ALEXANDER
LORD STIRLING

William Alexander, known as Lord Stirling*, a more modest man, possessed of good sense and able to understand the situation in New York. He very soon discovered that everything possible was being done, with the city surrounded as it was by deep water ways, all fully commanded by British ships.

Stores of powder and shot were being secretly accumulated, arms collected, and cannon cast. Even ships were being privately armed under the very muzzles of the British guns.

Stirling wrote to General Washington: "I am surprised at the courage and ingenuity of these people." They were soon to be tested.

On the 15th of March, Washington wrote to Stirling that, in his opinion, Howe was about to evacuate Boston, and that he would probably proceed to New York.

Preparation for defence.—Sir Henry Clinton with his fleet did not remain in New York many days.

* Stirling was an English lord and an American patriot.

This made it less difficult to prepare for defence. The entire available force of the city was already under arms. The committee of safety was active. Requisitions were sent out for the militia from the various counties. A few regiments from Pennsylvania arrived. In April, General Israel Putnam was sent to take command. He at once established rigid military rule, and ordered the construction of more batteries.

Everything possible for the protection of the city had been accomplished before Howe, crowded out of Boston, sailed by way of Halifax for New York with his 8,000 veterans. Fortunately he delayed his coming until June, thus giving the Americans time for further preparation for his reception.

Washington in New York.—Washington scarcely waited to take possession of Boston and the stores left there by Howe, before he started for New York, taking with him a part of his force and gathering more as he proceeded on his march. On April 13 he reached New York. Hardly had he begun work, when congress summoned him to Philadelphia. There were sharp divisions in that body. It was learned that England had not only all the New York Indians and the Canadians as allies, but that she had hired a large force of German mercenaries*.

While there was no question as to the righteousness of their cause, many of the Americans were stunned by the difficulties which they saw before them. Further, the question of independence had now come to the front and was being pressed for decision.

* See Declaration of Independence.

Washington did not tarry in Philadelphia, but hastening back to New York, bent every energy for its defence.

The June election of 1776.—There never was a grander illustration of the true principles of liberty than was afforded by New York, when on June 19, 1776, by the advice of leading patriots, a new election of delegates to the provincial congress was ordered. With active preparations for war going on, with a British fleet bearing an army of invasion hourly expected, the polls were opened and the free-holders of the colony were given an opportunity to choose between submission to England and the unknown fortunes of a war for independence.

The result was that nearly every member was re-elected, and the provincial congress was charged to vote for absolute separation from the crown. This was the body which in the following month changed the name of New York's legislature to "the convention of representatives".

New York and the Declaration of Independence.—On July 2 the continental congress had agreed upon the Declaration. The formal vote was not taken until the 4th. The news reached New York July 9, and was received with the wildest demonstrations of joy. Bells were rung and cannon boomed while British men-of-war rode at anchor in the bay. Flags were flung to the breeze, and in the evening the city was ablaze with bonfires.

By Washington's orders, the Declaration of Independence was read to every brigade of troops in the

vicinity, and everywhere the soldiers greeted the news with shouts of applause. An immense concourse of people, moved by a common impulse, went to the city hall, tore the portrait of George III from the wall, cut it into strips, and trampled it under foot. Then, proceeding to Bowling Green, they pulled his equestrian statue down, horse and man, and with shouts dragged it through the streets. This they declared should be "run into bullets for his hireling soldiery" *.

Washington, although appreciating the gravity of the situation much better than the people, sternly disapproved the act and published an order to that effect.

The provincial convention and the Declaration.

—New York was now a military post,—a city of camps, and the situation so threatening that the "convention" had withdrawn to White Plains.

There were 38 men present when the Declaration was read. With one voice they agreed to sustain it with their lives and their fortunes. To them this meant much, for they realized that independence could be established only through much sorrow and suffering. Personally, they must sacrifice both station and wealth. Van Rensselaer, Van Cortlandt, Schuyler, the Morrisises and the Livingstons understood that it meant the loss of inherited wealth and the abandonment of ancestral estates. To the representatives from the interior it meant still more. It meant invasion, and a return to the savagery of Indian wars, the tomahawk and the scalping-knife.

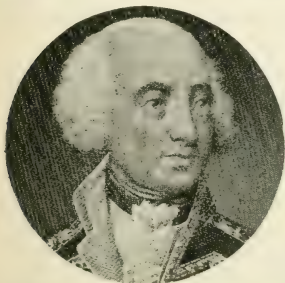
New York's delegation in congress had not yet signed the declaration; they had waited for instruction from

*The British soldiers retaliated a few weeks later by demolishing the statue of Pitt.

the people of their State. On the day that the vote was taken at White Plains a swift messenger was started for Philadelphia, with instruction to "sign", and on July 19 the signatures of New York's four remaining delegates, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis and Lewis Morris, were affixed with the others to the engrossed copy of the immortal document.

The arrival of the British army.—On July 12, 1776, the advance ships of Lord Howe's fleet began to arrive. Howe's first step was to assure the Americans that his mission was a peaceful one. Accordingly he sent a letter by flag of truce addressed to "Mr. Washington". The officers who met the boat bearing the flag coolly told the bearer that they knew no such person, and the interview closed.

Washington recognized as general.—A later request for an interview with Washington was granted. An officer from Lord Howe's staff was allowed to land and was taken into Washington's presence. This time he was addressed as "excellency" and the letter which the officer bore was to "George Washington, Esq., etc., etc." The messenger, an officer of high rank, informed Washington that Lord Howe and General Howe



EARL RICHARD HOWE. 1725-1799



LORD WILLIAM HOWE. 1729-1814

were entrusted with very large discretionary powers, could grant pardons, etc., etc. To this, reply was made that Americans did not understand that in asking for the rights of Englishmen they had been guilty of "crime"; and so the second effort at negotiations ended in failure. Americans were not asking for pardon. There had been a time when they asked for *rights*; now they were seeking for independence.

Difficulty in defending New York.—All this time England's great fleet lay in the harbor,—37 men-of-war and 400 transports,—a magnificent spectacle. On these transports were more than 30,000 men, to meet whom Washington could muster less than 17,000 militia,—undisciplined, poorly armed, most of them entirely inexperienced in war. To make the case still more difficult, these troops were necessarily scattered over an area of many miles. The forts on the Hudson must be held, for with that river in the hands of the enemy and with absolutely no communication by sea, the New England colonies would be entirely separated from the others. Through his tory allies on shore, Lord Howe knew perfectly the situation there. So difficult of defence was the city, that the project of burning and deserting it was seriously discussed.

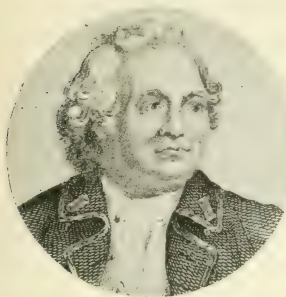
The Battle of Long Island, 1776.—Slowly the month of July and the first half of August passed. The heat was intense, and daily, in Washington's scattered camps, the question was asked, "Where will the attack be made?"

A British force had been landed on Staten Island; the remainder were on the transports. On the morn-

ing of August 22 the booming of cannon from Long Island told that the hour of conflict had arrived.

Under cover of the fire from their frigates, the

British troops were being landed at Gravesend. As rapidly as possible the patriot regiments were brought in from their camps about New York and pushed out toward the enemy. General Israel Putnam was placed in command of the main line. On the 27th the final struggle came. Superior numbers



ISRAEL PUTNAM, 1718-1790

enabled Howe to detach a force about the flank of the American lines, and before Washington could even reach the field the day was lost.

Washington's first battle a defeat.—It was Washington's first battle and he had been defeated. The American loss was severe in killed and wounded, and many were taken prisoners. But one course was now open. In the night, quietly but skilfully, the remnant of the army was withdrawn to New York, and in the morning, the ragged, dispirited column was put in motion toward the north.

Howe's mistake.—Howe had won a battle, but like many another commander had sat down afterward and failed to reap the fruit of it. With a strong reserve force and a fleet at his command he could easily have made Washington's now famous retreat impossible.

Again the question came up for solution, "Shall New York be defended or abandoned?" To decide this a

council of war was called; ten voted to evacuate, three to defend. Among the latter was General George Clinton, who, when New York was threatened, had immediately left congress at Philadelphia and hastened home to take his place in the ranks of her defenders.

Another peace commission.—Lord Howe's slowness in occupying New York can be accounted for only on the ground of a sincere desire to bring about a settlement of a quarrel in which he had little heart.

Having now in his hands as prisoners several officers of the American army, he determined to make one more effort for peace. For this purpose he chose General Sullivan, asking him to go to Philadelphia and tell congress that he would be glad to receive a delegation



JOHN ADAMS. 1735-1826

from that body. Congress would not officially treat with Howe, but it agreed to send a commission to learn what he had to say. For this purpose, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge were chosen. They proceeded to Amboy, New Jersey, where Lord Howe's barges were waiting

to carry them to his headquarters on Staten Island.

The interview was a most polite affair. Howe received his guests with the greatest courtesy. He spoke of the regard he felt for Americans since the death of his elder brother among them, eighteen years before, on the shore of Lake George. He expressed his strong

desire to devise some plan by which the mutual sufferings of a protracted war might be averted.

The conversation lasted for four hours, but was as devoid of results as the former efforts had been. The truth again came out that there were but two courses open to the colonies: one was submission to England, the other was war. Beyond any doubt Lord Howe was disappointed. It is reported of him that he paced his room for hours in deep thought and with a sad face. Finally his duty as a soldier triumphed. Vigorous measures were at once begun, and from that hour there was no delay in pressing the war.

New York dismantled.—It was now Sept. 12. The certainty that New York was to be abandoned by the patriot army led to a scene of wild confusion. Hundreds of families which had cast in their lot with the cause of independence still remained. These all hastily prepared to depart. Homes were abandoned, the dwellings of the poor and the mansions of the rich alike.

There were sad partings, for old neighbors took opposite sides and even families were divided. Household effects were carried to the up-river towns or to the country. Every sort of vehicle or river-craft was pressed into service. The convention had directed that everything so far as possible that could be of use to the enemy should be removed. Even the church bells were taken down and carted away. In two days the city presented a scene of desolation hard to imagine.

The final departure.—On Sunday, Sept. 15, the English began to close in on the northern end of Man-

hattan, and the last patriot troops prepared to withdraw. Along the country roads, where now are New York's most populous streets, the "ragged continentals" retreated, closely followed by scarlet-coated British. Sharp skirmishes were frequent. An English force had landed above with the intention of cutting off the retreat of Washington's rear-guard. There were too few of them to fight,—too many to be taken. In this final retreat there were many tragic scenes, many hair-breadth escapes, and many cases of personal heroism.

At the rear of this column was Alexander Hamilton in command of a battery, with which he did most excellent service. Conducting the column by side roads through the woods was Aaron Burr, who knew every foot of the ground. At her beautiful home on Murray Hill, Mrs. Murray* entertained Generals Howe, Clinton, and Cornwallis with wine and cake and gay conversation, while their soldiers rested for two hours among the shrubbery, and the American rear-guard passed silently within half a mile. At Harlem Heights the army went into camp, wet, hungry, weary, disheartened, and night settled down on New York in the hands of the enemy, to remain in their undisputed possession for seven long, eventful years.

SUMMARY

1. New York; Sears, Lee, and Stirling.
2. The defence of New York.
3. Washington in New York.
4. New York elections, 1776, and results.

* The mother of Lindley Murray, the grammarian.

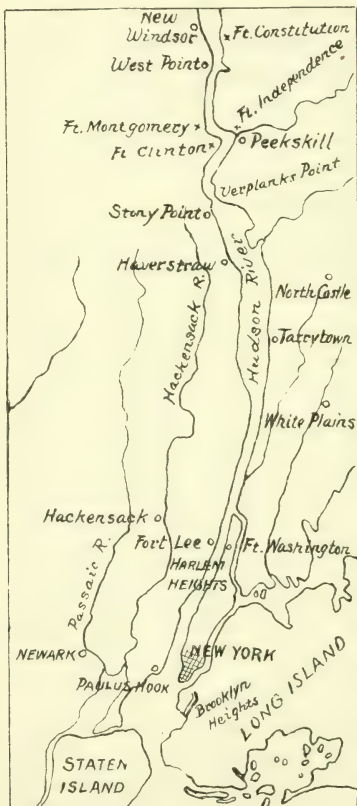
5. The Declaration of Independence; action of New York; caution of her delegates.
6. Portrait and statue of King George; retaliation.
7. Names of New York's signers to Declaration.
8. Arrival of British army, 1776.
9. General Howe's correspondence.
10. Reasons for American answer.
11. Proportion and equipment of armies.
12. Landing and battle of Long Island.
13. The great retreat.
14. Howe's second peace commission.
15. New York dismantled.
16. Washington's army retreats from New York.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FIRST INVASION OF NEW YORK

Importance of the Hudson.—The struggle for the

possession of the Hudson necessarily made New York the chief battle ground of the revolution. With great labor and expense the river had been fortified. At the Palisades was Fort Lee, and above were Forts Washington and Constitution, Stony Point, Clinton, Independence, Montgomery, West Point, William Henry, Ticonderoga and Crown Point. To hold all or as many as possible was essential to the American cause; their reduction was necessary to the English. Meantime Wash-



ington's little army must be brushed aside.

Battle of Harlem Heights, 1776.—The full significance of this engagement has never been half appreciated. On the part of the British, it was an effort to expel Washington from Manhattan island before he could fortify. On Washington's part it was an effort to retrieve the disaster of Long Island. The battle was fought on Sept. 16 among the rocky forests of Harlem Heights, embracing that territory now included between 125th and 150th streets in New York city. The Americans had 4,000 men, the English 6,000,—small forces as armies are reckoned now, but enough to make this, among the battles of the revolution, a serious engagement.

The English suffered much more severely than the Americans, and in the end were driven from the field. Washington now had time to withdraw all military supplies, while from that time forward his raw levies were soldiers, feeling themselves, man for man, more than a match for the British regulars opposed to them.

For three weeks Washington's army occupied its position on this battle-field unmolested, while all the city to the south was in the hands of the enemy.

New York's first great fire, 1776.—It was during these weeks that New York city was visited with its first great conflagration. In the night of Sept. 21, while the wind was blowing a gale from the south, a fire started from a house in which there was a drunken carousal. It spread rapidly to the north and west, crossed Broadway, and consumed many of the finest buildings in the city, among them Trinity church and the Charity school. When morning dawned, nearly all the city west of Broadway was in ruins.

The story of Nathan Hale.—On the morning after the fire, Sept. 22, Nathan Hale, the spy, was brought to New York, a prisoner. It was necessary for Washington to know something of the movements and plans of Lord Howe. For this dangerous errand, Nathan Hale, a young captain in a Massachusetts regiment, volunteered. He was but twenty-one years of age, handsome, talented, a graduate of Yale college, in every way a most promising young man. Disguised as a country school teacher he made his way to Connecticut, crossed to Long Island, visited the English army lying there, obtained all the needed information, and was well on his way back to Washington's headquarters when he was detected. When brought before Lord Howe he frankly admitted his character and position in the American army, and received his sentence as became a christian soldier. By the officer in charge of his guard, one Cunningham, he was denied a Bible, for which he had asked; and the letters which he had written to his mother and his sweetheart were torn and burned before his eyes. His brave heart did not fail when the hour of his execution came, and his last words, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," have since his day inspired many an American soldier.

Death of Governor Colden.—On the day of Nathan Hale's capture, the venerable Dr. Colden passed away at his country seat near Flushing, Long Island. For many years he had been identified with the history of our State. At the outbreak of the

revolution he retired to his country home, and took no further active interest in public affairs.

From Harlem Heights to White Plains, 1776.

—Early in October Howe began his movement up the Hudson. He had failed to drive the American army from its position; he now proposed get in the rear of it. Had Washington obligingly sat still, that feat could easily have been accomplished.

The obstructions which had been placed in the Hudson were removed, and Howe's army moved northward on its transports, its frigates always conveniently near. The first attempt to make a landing was successfully resisted. The next day, Oct. 13, the landing was effected. Washington was already there with his camp strongly entrenched. A few days later, Oct. 29, Lord Howe made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge Washington from his position at White Plains, but, it being evident that the place would not long be tenable, the Americans withdrew to the heights of North Castle.

Loss of Fort Washington.—Still hoping to maintain a foot-hold on Manhattan Island, Washington had strongly fortified Fort Washington (now 183d street), and left there a garrison of 2,800 men under command of a trusted officer, Colonel Robert Magaw. On the night of Nov. 2, a traitor, Adjutant William Demont, left the fort and took to Lord Howe a full description of the works, with the strength of the garrison and plans for its capture. Magaw made a brave defence but was finally obliged to capitulate.

The loss of Fort Washington involved the fall of Fort Lee opposite and opened the lower Hudson to the passage of British ships. This virtually closed operations in New York for the winter.

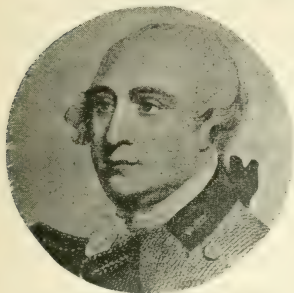
Following these events, came the long, weary retreat through New Jersey, the stirring battles at Trenton and Princeton, and the sad winter at Morristown, where Washington's army dwindled to a handful of half-clothed, unpaid, but resolute men.

Arnold on Lake Champlain, 1776.—With New York City, the bay and lower Hudson in the hands of the British, it was considered certain that an invasion would also be made from Canada.

To provide against this, General Gates had been placed in command of the northern department; the remnant of the force which had escaped from Quebec was retained at Ticonderoga. Small re-inforcements were sent to their support, and Arnold was placed in command, with instructions to prepare such a fleet as he was able, to resist the enemy if possible, and if not, to retard him as much as possible.

By the middle of August he had ready a little squadron consisting of one sloop, three schooners, and five gondolas, carrying all told, 45 guns. With these he set out to meet the expected enemy. At Windmill Point he anchored his vessels in a line across the lake and waited. A small scouting party which he sent out was attacked and repulsed with considerable loss. Already short of men to defend his position, he retired to Valcour Island, when he determined to give battle.

On Oct. 11 the enemy under Carleton appeared with a formidable force; one large ship, two schooners, a large raft, one gondola, 20 gunboats, four long boats and 44 smaller boats loaded with supplies. With the flotilla were 1,700 seamen well armed.



SIR GUY CARLETON, 1724-1808

It was a desperate odds, but Arnold never counted numbers. The battle began at noon and lasted until five o'clock, when the British retired. It was a fortunate respite, for Arnold's little fleet was nearly annihilated, and at least one-half its defenders were killed or wounded.

In the night, all that remained were skilfully removed to Schuyler's Island, farther up the lake, where two days later the battle was renewed. In the end, nothing was left of Arnold's fleet but the sloop and four gondolas. These he ran into a small creek ten miles from Crown Point. Then setting them on fire with their flags still flying, he defended them until they were enveloped in flames, when with his little band of survivors he retreated to Crown Point.

Pursued by Indians, and unable to hold even that post, on the following night Arnold retired to Ticonderoga. He had been defeated; but for the British, it was like their victory at Bunker Hill,—all the glory clung to the vanquished.

Carleton retired down the lake and the first invasion of New York was at an end.

Defence of the Hudson.—In the year 1776, two vessels ordered by congress were built at Poughkeepsie in the continental ship-yards of Van Zandt, Lawrence, and Tudor. These were the “*Montgomery*”, 24 guns, and the “*Congress*”, 28 guns.

This company also built the great “booms” across the Hudson, one at Anthony’s Nose, the entrance to the Highlands, and the other at West Point. These “booms” were immense iron chains borne on floats made of pitch-pine logs sharpened at both ends. Parts of these are still preserved at West Point and Newburg.

British prisons.—One of the sad features of war is the lack of care given to prisoners. The lot of the soldier in active service is hard; but the fate of the prisoner of war is usually much harder.

Early in the revolution arrangements for exchange of prisoners were made, but unfortunately the British still held many, as the Americans had few to give in exchange. The Americans taken at Quebec were treated with great kindness, but New York became a city of prisons, containing more than 5,000 men who had been taken in the operations about New York and by British privateers.

Many were confined in churches, under conditions which soon made them charnel-houses. Worse than the churches were the damp warehouses where men spent the winter without fires or blankets or suitable food. But more dreadful than all other places were the prison ships at Wallabout, where in old, rotten hulks, men never saw the light of day, and died, feeling that they were forgotten of God and man.

The midnight of the revolution, 1776-1777.—

When the new year dawned there seemed for the Americans scarcely a ray of hope. Howe had indeed been driven from Boston, but he had taken New York, —a more important position. In many small engagements the Americans had held a much larger force at bay. They had won some insignificant victories under circumstances which proved their valor. But Washington had been driven from New York, and the enemy held sway over the entire vicinity.

There was then little prospect of European intervention. Nowhere was there an organized, disciplined, paid army, capable of making offensive warfare. In the cantonments about Morristown, N. J., and in the forts that guarded the Hudson and the northern lakes, the ragged remnant of the American army awaited the spring. In Philadelphia, congress “advised” and hoped. The New York convention kept up a form of government and made it respected. To the observer there was not one sign of promise.

Still deep in the hearts of the people burned the unquenchable fires of patriotism; and while England planned with the opening of spring to make what was thought to be her last, decisive campaign, the undismayed colonists were knitting still closer the bonds of union, and laying deeper and broader the foundations of that free government to which they had pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

SUMMARY

1. Forts on Hudson.
2. Battle of Harlem Heights.

3. New York's great fire, 1776; story of Nathan Hale.
4. Ex-Governor Colden.
5. The retreat to White Plains and North Castle.
6. Fort Washington taken.
7. Arnold on Lake Champlain.
8. Defence of the Hudson; importance of.
9. British prisons.
10. Midnight of the revolution.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1777

New York a severe sufferer.—On no other colony had the war pressed so heavily as upon New York. Shut off completely from the sea, her chief city already ruined and in the hands of the enemy, threatened with invasion both from Canada and from the sea-board, with thousands of hostile savages dwelling within her borders, with a large tory element keeping the enemy constantly informed of every intended movement, the winter was indeed a night of gloom. Yet at Kingston, almost within hearing of the drums of the enemy, her convention of representatives prepared for the coming struggle and framed the government of the future State in sublime confidence that independence would yet be achieved.

Migrations of the convention.—While active military operations were being carried on in New York city and in its vicinity, the convention had of necessity been a migratory body. From the city it had removed successively to White Plains, to Harlem, to Kingsbridge, to Philipse Manor, to Fishkill, and finally to Kingston.

To the faithful, patriotic labors of this legislative body, New York owes much. As the successor of the old colonial assembly and the New York colonial con-

gress, it conducted the affairs of the colony safely through a most critical period of our history, and, as its final act, established the first constitution of the State at Kingston, in 1777.

The constitution of 1777.—The convention having by a solemn resolution declared that the “reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring the united colonies free and independent States are cogent and conclusive”, appointed a committee to prepare a form of government.

This committee, appointed Aug. 1, 1776, was composed of the following members:

John Jay, John Sloss Hobart, William Smith, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, John Browne, John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, Jr., Henry Wisner, Samuel Townsend, Charles DeWitt, Robert Yates.

The committee took until March 12, 1777, for the preparation of this great document, and on that day reported New York's first constitution. This was discussed by the convention until April 20, when it was adopted. The framers of this constitution affirmed the sovereignty of the people, the freedom of every citizen from any interference whatsoever except by authority of the people, and declared that the object of government was the safety and happiness of the people.

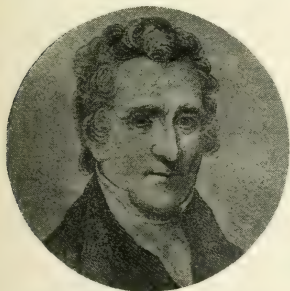
Jay, Livingston, Morris.—The constitution was really the work of three very young men. These were Jay, who was thirty-two, Livingston who was thirty, and Morris who was but twenty-five years of

age. These men were from the wealthiest families in the State, and each had received the best education the times afforded. Had they not chosen to peril their lives and to sacrifice their fortunes in the cause of liberty, they would have been certain of royal favor and great political advancement.



JOHN JAY, 1745-1829

The constitution having been adopted, the next step was to publish it to the people. For this purpose, the ringing of the church bell called them together, and standing upon a barrel in front of the courthouse Egbert Benson, the secretary, proceeded to read in a clear, full voice the immortal document. Three thousand copies were ordered printed for general distribution.



EGBERT BENSON, 1746-1833

Its provisions.—Although the constitution of 1777 contained so many objectionable features that its amendment was soon found to be necessary, the fact remains that in its general provisions it was more liberal than that adopted by any other State. It guaranteed absolute freedom of religious profession and worship to every citizen. A property qualification of

£20 was required for the elective franchise, but no discrimination was made on account of race or color.

The legislative body consisted then, as now, of two branches, and to the assembly, as being nearest the people, was committed the greater share of responsibility.

The governor was made chief executive, but was stripped of much of the power he had held under the crown. He no longer had judicial functions, so careful were the framers to do away with every vestige of arbitrary power.

Appointive officers.—In the first constitution there were several very striking peculiarities. Most of the officers of the State were appointed. The governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and assemblymen were the only State officers elected by the people. The town clerks, supervisors, assessors, constables, and collectors were elected, but every judiciary officer, from the chief justice of the State to the town justice of the peace was appointed.

This anomaly was the result of an almost universal feeling that the people could not be entrusted with such important and delicate matters. To provide for such offices a “council of appointment” was created. This consisted of one senator from each district, *appointed by the assembly*. Over this council the governor presided and had a “casting vote”. In time, this council became a most powerful and corrupt monopoly.

The council of revision.—Another peculiarity of the constitution was the council of revision. The committee that framed the constitution, in creating an

assembly that should come directly from the people, felt sure that they could not be entrusted with the immense powers of legislation. In appearance the assembly was to have legislative powers, but in fact these were taken from them by the council of revision, which consisted of the governor, the chancellor, and the judges of the supreme court. By the provisions of the constitution, all bills which should pass the senate and assembly must be submitted to this council before they could become laws. The council possessed the veto power now held by the governor.

In other particulars the provisions of the first constitution have been mainly retained in subsequent revisions. It was never submitted to the people, but was immediately put into operation by the committee which framed it.

Mr. Jay had prepared an additional article providing for the abolition of slavery, which he intended to submit before the final vote was taken, but by his necessary absence for one day this article failed to be incorporated. By this unfortunate circumstance, New York lost the honor of being the first State to blot out the barbarism of human slavery.

The council of safety.—The convention of representatives, by creating a written constitution, ceased to exist on the day that the colony of New York became the State of New York. That no unforeseen event might endanger the completion of the work it had so well begun, on May 3, 1777, it created a "council of safety" of 15 members, as a temporary body to put the new government in operation.

Before it adjourned the convention appointed John



ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, 1746-1813

Jay chief justice, Robert R. Livingston chancellor, and other necessary judges.

It being impossible to hold elections in New York, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk counties, the convention appointed the senators and assemblymen for those districts. It defined the crime of treason, and for it imposed the penalty of death. It also declared that all grants of land made within the State by any person acting under the authority of the king of England after Oct. 14, 1775, should be "null and void". In May the convention adjourned, and the "council of safety" undertook the difficult task of inaugurating the new government.

New York's first election*, 1777.—In June the first election occurred, when George Clinton was chosen governor and Perie Van Cortlandt, lieutenant-governor. Governor Clinton was then in active service in the continental army, and he continued his military duties until after the surrender of Burgoyne in the succeeding summer. Few more able

GEORGE CLINTON, 1739-1812
GOVERNOR, 1777-1795, 1801-1804

*The first meeting of the new legislature was held at Kingston, and the first speaker was Walter Livingston.

men have ever occupied the governor's chair. He was a trained lawyer, and had good military ability. He was at this time but 37 years of age, yet he had been in public life for ten years. He was six times elected to the office of governor of his State.

SUMMARY

1. New York convention of representatives and its migrations.
2. The first State constitution; origin and nature; the men who framed it; first governor.
3. Its publication; its provisions.
4. Council of safety, and first election.

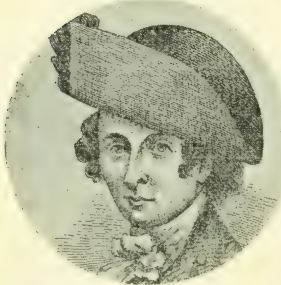
CHAPTER XXX

BURGOYNE'S INVASION, 1777

New York the battle-ground.—While the people of New York had been establishing their form of government, active military operations had gone on.

Early in the spring it was seen that New York would be the main field of operations. There were two reasons for this. The cautious but firm attitude of the New York patriots had for years been most galling to King George and his ministry. To humble that proud colony would be counted a special stroke of good fortune. Its geographical position, the very point that had 133 years before made King Charles covet it from the Dutch, now made it desirable that the patriot power there should be crushed. For this purpose a most elaborate campaign was planned.

The plan of campaign.—Lake Champlain, as far as Crown Point, was already in British hands. Burgoyne with a strong force, amply equipped, was to ascend the lake, take Ticonderoga, and sweep southward to the Hudson. From the west, by way of the Mohawk, St. Leger was to advance to his support with an army of British regulars, Hessian riflemen, Sir



BARRY ST. LEGER, 1737-1789

John Johnson's Royal Greens and Butler's Rangers (two tory organizations), and all the warriors from four Iroquois tribes,—the Oneidas, and Tuscororas refusing to join him.

These alone would seem to be sufficient, but to make assurance more than sure, Lord Howe was to ascend the Hudson and meet the other forces in the vicinity of Albany. It was an admirable plan; surely not one "rebel" militia company could escape being caught in the net.

To make the outlook still darker for New York, there was a lack of harmony at Philadelphia among those who should direct the defence.

Ticonderoga taken.—General Schuyler was in command in New York, and with his usual energy was exerting himself to interpose every obstacle that human ingenuity could devise, to retard the advance of the enemy. In the midst of his labors he was superseded and then restored,—too late to save Ticonderoga. Its evacuation was a military necessity, though so many were the traditions of that old fortress, it had come to be considered the very Gibraltar of American independence.

Burgoyne occupied Ticonderoga in July, almost without opposition. The news of its capture threw King George into transports of delight. On hearing of it, he rushed into the Queen's apartments, dancing like a child and shouting, "I have beaten the Americans! I have beaten the Americans!"



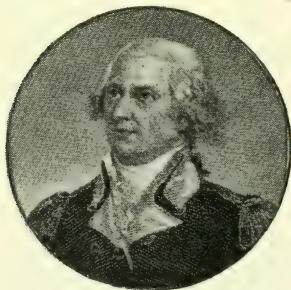
PLAN OF TICONDEROGA
1776

Gen. Schuyler's plans.—Even at Philadelphia the loss of Ticonderoga was felt to be a disaster. General Schuyler comprehended the situation much better.

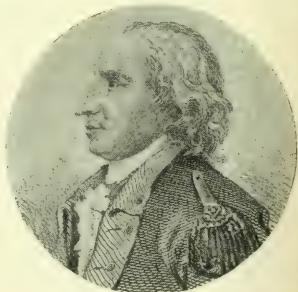


JOHN BURGoyNE, 1722-1792

He knew thoroughly the ground over which Burgoyne must advance. To the Americans Ticonderoga was absolutely valueless. Its capture necessitated a garrison and weakened Burgoyne's army. Schuyler's plan was to let Burgoyne advance well into the State where the American forces could be concentrated and then to give battle when and where the greatest advantage could be secured.



PHILIP SCHUYLER, 1733-1804

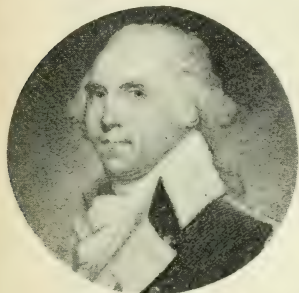


HORATIO GATES, 1728-1806

Schuyler's enemies succeeded in getting him removed (see page 269), and Gates took his place; but all the events of the campaign proved the wisdom of its first conception, and Schuyler, not Gates, was the real conqueror of Burgoyne.

Siege of Fort Stanwix.—Events did not await the arrival of General Gates, nor did General Schuyler abate one jot of that enterprise for which he was so

justly celebrated. Learning of the advance of St. Leger from Lake Ontario, Schuyler placed a strong garrison in Fort Stanwix. To command this important post, he detailed Colonel Peter Gansevoort, a bold, energetic man. Though but 28 years of age, he possessed the coolness and steadiness of a vet-



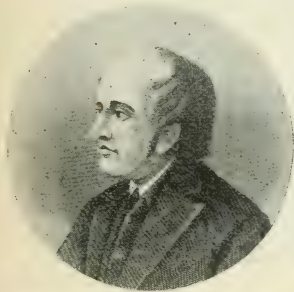
PETER GANSEVOORT, 1749-1812

eran. Colonel Marinus Willett was sent to assist him.

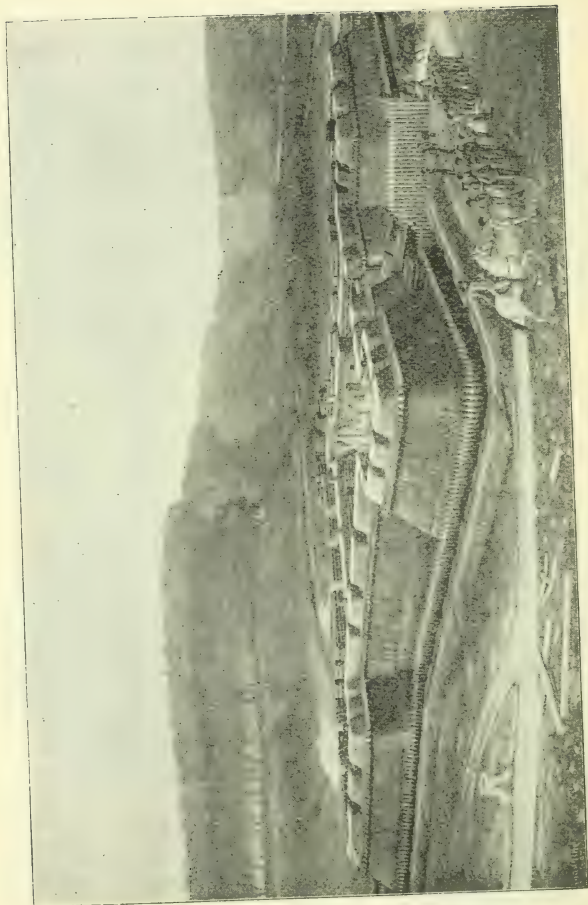
St. Leger rapidly advanced against the place with a motley force of British regulars, tories, Hessians, and Indians, eighteen hundred in number. On Aug. 3, the fort was invested.

Battle of Oriskany.—This invasion aroused the

patriots of New York. General Nicholas Herkimer gathered a force of 800 Tryon county militia and hastened to the relief of Stanwix. On the morning of Aug. 6, he reached Oriskany creek, some six miles from the fort. The morning was sultry; his men were weary. It was necessary to cross a small, boggy ravine by a narrow corduroy road. This he was doing



NICHOLAS HERKIMER, 1715-1777



FORT STANWIN IN 1777. From the Painting of P. F. Hugumine

without due caution, when a force of Indians and Tories in ambush fired upon him. At the first fire General Herkimer fell, severely wounded. For an instant his men quailed, but the voice of their wounded commander rallied them, and again they rushed to the attack. While ammunition lasted, they fought at a distance, from behind trees; when ammunition failed, they fought at close quarters, with clubbed muskets and bayonets against tomahawks*.

From ten in the morning until three in the afternoon the fight raged. At that hour Colonel Willett led a sortie from the fort against the besiegers. This forced the recall of the troops sent against Herkimer, and the bloodiest battle of the revolution was over. The patriots had lost 200 killed,—one-fourth of their number.

The siege of Fort Stanwix was now pressed with vigor by St. Leger, and again General Schuyler determined to send help to the brave garrison. It was a dangerous errand, and volunteers were called for.

Six hundred men offered to go, and General Arnold volunteered to lead them. Before another man could have decided on a plan, Arnold and his band were well on their way, pushing up the Mohawk. With all his impetuosity, Arnold was also fertile in devices. The story of the ruse by which he spread terror through St. Leger's army has many variations but it served a purpose †.

*The presence of former neighbors on opposite sides made this one of the most sanguinary battles of the war.

†The best version, and probably the correct one, is briefly as follows. With St. Leger were two honest

The siege was raised Aug. 22. St. Leger, British, Hessians, Canadians, tories and Indians were soon on their way back to Canada faster than they came, leaving all their belongings to the Americans. It is probable that Arnold's name had quite as much to do with the hasty retreat as had the fabulous number of troops he was supposed to be leading*.

New York boys, Hon Yost Schuyler and a younger brother. These lads were sent out with a small party to reconnoitre to the east, and fell into the hands of Arnold, who threatened to put Hon Yost to death. He was finally released on condition that his brother should remain as a hostage, while he should rejoin St. Leger and give out the story that Arnold was rapidly approaching with 2,000 men. Hon Yost carried out his agreement, escaped from the British, returned to the American camp, and obtained his brother's release, when both joined the patriot army.

* It is claimed that the "stars and stripes" as authorized by act of congress, June 14, 1777, were first unfurled over Fort Stanwix during the siege. When Colonel Willett made his sortie, he captured a large quantity of English flags and Indian blankets. From these and "ammunition shirts", with bits of red contributed by members of the garrison, and an old camel cloak, with much labor



MARINUS WILLETT, 1740-1830

and no little skill, the soldiers manufactured the first American flag and hoisted it to the view of the besieging force.

Advance of Burgoyne.—While these stirring events were taking place, General Burgoyne was confidently pushing his way southward in accordance with the grand plan of the campaign. He published bombastic “orders”, intended to inspire courage in his own troops and strike terror to the hearts of “the rebels”. He had with him 3,700 British regulars, 3,000 German auxiliaries, 400 Indians, 475 artillerymen and 250 Canadians. With this force he swept all before him until on July 30 he reached Fort Edward on the Hudson. He had been delayed only a month by the opposition he had met on the way but this had given time to rally the militia until General Schuyler had over 4,000 men, poorly armed but brave and loyal, with which to oppose him.

Schuyler superseded.—Fortunately Burgoyne lin-

gered at Fort Edward until the middle of August, allowing the troops from Fort Stanwix to rejoin Schuyler, all of whose plans had, so far, worked well. But in congress his enemies had been busy, and August 4th General Horatio Gates arrived and superseded him. Schuyler was so much of a patriot



THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO, 1746-1817

that he quietly bowed to the will of congress, received the new commander courteously, and continued to do his duty.

The American forces were now encamped at Bemis

Heights, where Kosciusko* had erected fortifications, while Burgoyne had crossed the Hudson and was reaping the harvests on General Schuyler's homestead in the vicinity of Saratoga, in entire ignorance of the disaster that had befallen St. Leger.

Battle of Bennington, 1777.—Meantime, while he waited, it occurred to Burgoyne that it would be a good plan to send a small force to gather some stores which he learned the Americans had accumulated at Bennington, Vt.

For this purpose he selected Colonel Baum with 500 Hessians, a regiment of British regulars, one of Tories, and 100 Indians,—in all about 1,800 men.

But he reckoned without John Stark. This man,



JOHN STARK, 1728-1822

not then in active service, rallied the farmers of Vermont, and with a small militia force from New Hampshire attacked Baum and defeated him. Reinforcements came from Burgoyne, but more militia came also, and a second engagement occurred on the same day, Aug. 16, in which the British

were entirely routed, losing over 200 killed and wounded, while 700 were taken prisoners.

* Kosciusko a captain in the Polish army came to America in 1776 and served with distinction until the close of the revolution. His subsequent career in his own country demonstrated his ability as a soldier and his high character as a man.

It was another case of "going out after wool and coming back shorn". This battle was really fought on New York soil in the town of Hoosic, but within sight of the spires of Bennington. It was a severe blow to Burgoyne. Many of his Indians now deserted him; his force was growing weaker, while that of the Americans was steadily being augmented.

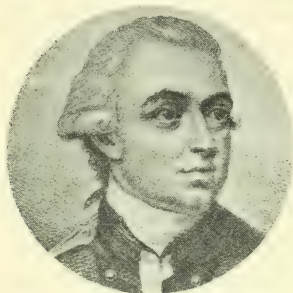
First battle of Saratoga, Bemis Heights, 1777.

—Still confident of aid from the south, Burgoyne moved steadily forward. In such contempt had he and his officers held the Americans, that they had brought with them their wives, and in some instances their children, on a holiday excursion through the forests to Albany.

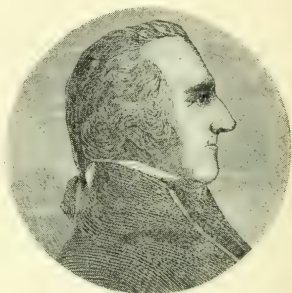
Advancing slowly, Burgoyne was soon face to face with the Americans at Bemis Heights. It was now too late to retreat. His enemies, still increasing, swarmed all about him. His camp became insecure. Musket bullets and cannon balls penetrated the tents where the women huddled in terror. On Sept. 19 a desperate conflict raged from one o'clock till sundown, with no great advantage to either army. The Americans retired within their trenches; the British bivouaced on the field and buried their dead. Both parties had suffered heavy losses.

Benedict Arnold relieved of command.—Here a quarrel occurred between Arnold and General Gates. Arnold had held the post of honor in the battle and wished to renew the fight. Gates forbade him, and words followed, which resulted in Arnold's being relieved of his command.

A note goes astray.—Anxiously now, Burgoyne waited for Sir Henry Clinton, who had sent word that on Sept. 22, he would attack the strongholds of the Hudson.



SIR HENRY CLINTON, 1738-1799



JAMES CLINTON, 1736-1812

Burgoyne returned word that he could hold his place until Oct. 12. His message fell into the hands of the Clinton for whom it was not intended,—Governor and General George Clinton commanding Fort Montgomery; his brother, James, commanded Fort Clinton, just below. This gave the two patriot brothers time to prepare for the defence.

Forts Montgomery and Clinton taken.—Unfortunately these two fortifications were intended only to bar the progress of the enemy up the Hudson; on the landward side they were weak. Sir Henry sent from New York two strong columns around the mountains to attack them in the rear. The garrisons made a stout resistance, but in the end were overpowered and driven to the river's edge. Night coming on, a large number of them escaped*.

*It was a singular circumstance that the brothers, George and James Clinton, met in the darkness while

Sir Henry Clinton had not anticipated resistance, and his losses detained him. He did, however, break the great chain at Anthony's Nose, and got as far as Newburg, from which place he sent an encouraging word to Burgoyne. But it was too late. Burgoyne's supplies were running short, so he determined on an effort to escape toward Albany, where he hoped to find Sir Henry Clinton. On Oct. 7 he moved. Instantly the Americans were upon his track, and the second battle of Saratoga had begun*.

Second battle of Saratoga, Stillwater, 1777.—The forces were now nearly equal, but the steady valor of Burgoyne's men was hardly a match for the terrible onset of the Americans.

Slowly the British were forced back to the works they had left in the morning. Every foot of the ground was fiercely contested and guns were taken and re-taken in hand-to-hand conflicts.

Benedict Arnold's valor.—While this had been going on, Arnold, inactive, with no command, was pacing back and forth before his tent in fierce rage. Finally, as the lull in the battle told him it was again

searching for some means of crossing the river. They found a small skiff which would hold but one. Each insisted that the other should take it and escape. Finally, James, being the stronger man, forced the governor into the skiff and shoved him off. General James Clinton finally found a horse which he mounted, and making a dash through the British lines escaped, though severely wounded.

* Commonly called the "second battle of Saratoga", though it occurred nearer Stillwater, as the other took place on Bemis Heights.

indecisive, he flung himself on his coal-black charger and dashed for the front. Gates sent messengers to recall him. He avoided them, and riding in front of the American lines, he called on the men for one more charge. With shouts they responded. The result was but partially successful. Bidding them hold the ground they had gained, he rode to another part of the field and led an impetuous charge upon the British flank, which swept them from their works. Just as the brigade he led was streaming over the enemy's works, Arnold's horse was killed and he was severely wounded.

All this time General Gates was in his tent, to all appearances an uninterested spectator. The victory had been fairly won by Schuyler, and its fruits had been gathered by Arnold, so recently deprived of command. Had Benedict Arnold died on this battle field, his fame would have been secure; his name forever held in honor.

Burgoyne's surrender.—The next day, Oct. 8, was by both parties given to the care of the wounded and the burial of the dead. That night a cold autumn rain set in and Burgoyne determined on a retreat toward Lake George. He had been staying in General Schuyler's mansion. This he burned with all the mills and expensive out-buildings, and then started his broken, dispirited remnant of an army northward.

Everywhere the enemy swarmed about him. Which-ever way he turned he met a pitiless, relentless foe. Beaten and baffled, on Oct. 17 he surrendered his entire remaining force of about 6,000 men.

There were many pathetic scenes in connection with this surrender. Burgoyne's soldiers as they laid down their arms wept like children, while the soldiers who had conquered them showed no exultation.

General Schuyler's beautiful home was in ruins, but he treated the loss as one of the fortunes of war—a sacrifice for his country's sake.

General Henry Clinton at Kingston, 1777.—The day of Burgoyne's surrender, Sir Henry Clinton's forces reached Kingston. Its population was then about 3,000, among whom were many families of wealth and distinction. General Vaughn, who was in command of the British, burned the town. Few buildings escaped the flames, schools and churches sharing the same fate as the mansions of the rich and the modest homes of the poor.

One story illustrates the spirit of the times. From Kingston, Vaughn crossed the Hudson and burned the house of every patriot within reach. There, in her beautiful residence at Clermont, Mrs. Livingston, mother of the chancellor, was caring for some wounded British officers. They offered to extend their protection over her property. She bravely declined to be an exception among her neighbors. Taking a few valuables, she left her home, and from a distance calmly saw it reduced to ashes.

Pitt's last appeal.—While this campaign was going on, and before its result was known in England, Pitt, Earl of Chatham, then in declining health, asked to be carried to the House of Lords that he might make one more appeal against the insane policy of the

king and his ministry. In the feeble voice of a dying man he declared: "You cannot conquer the Americans; your forces may ravage but they can never conquer. I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have tried for unconditional submission. Try what can be done by unconditional redress." He moved for a redress of all American grievances, and that they be given the rights of self-government. The vote was lost and in its stead one was secured for 100,000 men and ten millions in money for the prosecution of the war.

The battle of Brandywine.—Less brilliant, but just as resolute, had been the action of the American army at the south. Entirely maneuvered out of New Jersey, Howe had sailed for the Delaware. On Aug. 25 he landed his troops and began his march toward Philadelphia. On Sept. 11 occurred the battle at Brandywine Creek, in which Washington was defeated. On Oct. 4 the battle of Germantown followed, with no better success to the American arms.

The high-tide of the revolution, 1777-78.—It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the events of the year, 1777. The British had maintained their hold on New York. They had even extended their field of operations to the north of the city. They had taken Philadelphia after the battle of Brandywine Creek, and they had won a small success at Germantown. But their chief campaign, designed to reduce our own State, had failed in every particular. In these operations their losses had greatly exceeded

their small gains in other directions, while the moral effect of the surrender of an entire army of invasion was incalculable. It broke up the English plan of the war, which was to sever the eastern colonies from the southern by obtaining control of the Hudson. It saved New York to the patriot cause, and it rendered French intervention an absolute certainty. It created a strong peace party in England, powerless as it was in the hands of the king and his ministry. Better than all these was the courage which had made New York able, in the midst of alarms, to establish an enduring State government.

This was to be followed by Valley Forge and a winter of deepest gloom; but, out of sight, eternal decrees were surely preparing the way for American independence.

SUMMARY

1. Burgoyne's invasion, 1777; object of campaign and its parts.
2. Composition of Burgoyne's army.
3. General Schuyler and his plans.
4. King George and Ticonderoga.
5. Schuyler and Gates.
6. Fort Stanwix; St. Leger; General Herkimer.
7. Battle of Oriskany.
8. General Arnold; his ruse.
9. The "stars and stripes".
10. Burgoyne's advance.
11. Schuyler superseded.
12. Battle of Bennington, or Hoosic.

13. Battles of Saratoga, or Bemis Heights and Stillwater, and surrender of Burgoyne.
14. Scenes in battles; General Arnold's courage.
15. Sir Henry Clinton on the Hudson.
16. Burning of Kingston; Mrs. Livingston.
17. Pitt's last appeal.
18. Battles of Brandywine and Germantown.
19. The high-tide of the revolution.



SARATOGA BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT

CHAPTER XXXI

A YEAR OF TRIAL, 1777-8

The winter of 1777-8.—The American army of the north, now under General Israel Putnam, wintered among the Highlands. The residents of Kingston who could do so sought shelter among friends in neighboring settlements, while others shivered in such hovels as their ingenuity could provide.

The legislature met at Hurley, a little hamlet four miles from Kingston, while the petty tyrant, Tryon, sent out burning and pillaging expeditions among all the settlements wherever a single faithful patriot family remained.

West Point fortified.—It was during this winter that under General Putnam's direction, with two feet of snow on the ground, the fortifications at West Point were erected to take the place of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, now abandoned.

Treaty with France, 1778.—When the news of Saratoga reached England, Lord Chatham once more plead for a treaty with the American colonies. "Do it before you sleep!" he said. The treaty between America and France was signed February 6, 1778. On March 13 the fact was announced in parliament. The next day the ministry resigned, and again the earl of Chatham was asked to organize the government. Leaning upon the arm of his son, he once more entered

the house of lords. But now, with France in alliance with America, he refused to listen to further talk of reconciliation. Henceforth, in the few days that remained to him, he urged the vigorous prosecution of the war*.

New York's first supreme court, 1777.—While Bennington and Saratoga and Brandywine were impending, on Sept. 9, 1777, New York's first chief justice, John Jay, had opened his first court at Kingston.

In charging the jury he used these memorable words: "You will know no power but such as you create, no laws but such as acquire their force by your consent. The rights of conscience and a private judgment are by nature subject to no control but that of Deity, and in that free situation they are now left."

New York's first legislature.—On Oct. 15 Governor Clinton met the first legislature at the same place, leaving his command in the army only long enough to attend to necessary State business. Only a few days later Kingston was burned by General Vaughn. Strangely enough the court house in which the legislature met was spared and is now the property of the State.

Battle of Monmouth.—With the opening of spring the British army, now under command of Sir Henry Clinton, evacuated Philadelphia and began its movement toward New York, followed closely by

* It is a common mistake to suppose that the treaty with France was the result of her friendship for the American colonies. So far as France was concerned, it was only a blow at her traditional enemy, Great Britain.

Washington. On June 28 the battle of Monmouth took place with advantage to the Americans.

The English armies were now all concentrated in and about New York, while the American forces were encamped at different points from New Brunswick, N. J., to White Plains, N. Y., and operations were for a time transferred to Rhode Island.

Indian troubles, 1778.—New York having been overrun by foreign soldiery, was again to experience the horrors of savage warfare. Niagara was a regular English post, but it was also the gathering place for refugee tories, hostile Indian tribes and every species of vagabond.

Thither, after St. Leger's defeat, had gone chief Brant (see page 175), the notorious Butler, and other dependents of the Johnsons; and there were organized those expeditions destined to desolate the State with fire and pillage and murder. The Indians were cruel; the tories were pitiless.

The settlers in the interior were warned, but not too soon. In May, Brant desolated Springfield, at the head of Otsego lake. Every house was burned. In June he was on the Cobleskill with torch and scalping-knife.

The Cherry Valley massacre.—At Cherry Valley was a small fort about a church. This was garrisoned by a party of continental troops under command of Colonel Alden. He was warned, but did not take heed. In the early morning of November 11, Butler*

* This was Walter N. Butler, a tory,—more savage than Brant, who often tried to save the lives of women and children.

and his savage followers burst upon the settlement. Thirty of the inhabitants and sixteen soldiers were murdered, and forty men, women, and children taken away into a captivity worse than death.

The Wyoming massacre.—In the same year Butler led the party that perpetrated the terrible Wyoming massacre,—one of the most cruel and blood-thirsty tragedies of history*.

Against such a foe, lurking in the dense forests and stealing in the night-time upon defenceless settlements, there was no protection. There was enough that was sad about the War of the Revolution, but the greatest crime of it all was the fact that these atrocities were sanctioned and encouraged by King George III, a christian monarch.

As a result of these barbarities the interior settlements were practically abandoned, and the remaining population concentrated in and about the valley of the Hudson.

Results of 1778.—As the year 1778 drew to its close, little could be seen to encourage the hearts of the patriots. As yet, no real advantage had been gained from the French alliance. The internal affairs of the colonies had not improved. New York in particular was prostrate, for upon her had fallen all the disastrous consequences of war.

* It is claimed that Butler with his Iroquois Indians went from Niagara to the headwaters of the Chemung river, near the present village of Arkport in Steuben county, where they built boats, and floating down the Canisteo to the Chemung, entered the Susquehanna at Waverly.

On the other hand, England with all her outlay had gained only a few insignificant conquests in the south. With the coming of the winter of 1778 and 1779, to the human eye, the end seemed as distant as it had at the beginning. The main body of the American army lay at Middlebrook, N. J., still unpaid, and suffering from lack of both food and clothing.

SUMMARY

1. West Point.
2. Treaty with France, 1778; note.
3. New York's first supreme court and first legislature.
4. Indian troubles of 1778; Springfield, the Cobleskill, Cherry Valley, Wyoming.
5. Results of campaigns of 1778.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE YEARS OF MASSACRES AND OF TREASON, 1779, 1780

Capture of Stony Point, 1779.—In the beginning of spring a small garrison was at work constructing fortifications at Stony Point. It was a position of great importance to the American army, for it commanded the principal crossing of the Hudson on the only route now open between the eastern States and the south, and it was depended on to prevent the passage of British ships up the Hudson. Against this post,



ANTHONY WAYNE, 1745-1796

Sir Henry Clinton sailed with an armament in the latter part of May. His ships, aided by a strong land force, were soon able to reduce the half-finished defences, which he garrisoned and at once proceeded to enlarge and complete. It was necessary that the position should be retaken. For this

purpose General Anthony Wayne was selected.

Having perfected his plans and secured Washington's approval of them, he prepared, on the 15th of July, to make the attack.

At 8 o'clock in the evening he was within a mile of the fort and undiscovered. He then divided his force

into two columns, leading one himself and placing the other in charge of Colonel De Fleury, a Frenchman. Muskets were unloaded and bayonets affixed, that in the darkness the two parties might not fire on each other. From opposite directions the two bands approached and were within pistol shot before they were discovered. Then there was a cry "To arms!", followed by a rattle of musketry, and a roar of artillery. Not one instant did the columns waver. Over the ramparts they poured, through a storm of bullets, and in a few minutes the fort was won. Of the enemy 60 fell and 550 surrendered.

Wayne had not troops sufficient to garrison the place, so, removing all the stores and ordnance, he destroyed the fort and marched away*.

Expedition against the Onondagas.—Early in the year 1779 it was determined to punish and, if possible, humble the Iroquois. With the memories of all they had suffered from these savages still fresh in their minds, the people willingly joined in the expedition against them.

The first movement was against the Onondagas. In April, a force left Fort Stanwix and invaded their country. The Indians retired westward, and their villages in the vicinity of the present site of Syracuse were destroyed. This action only served to rouse the warriors to still greater resentment. Almost immediately 300 braves were on the war-path. They spread desolation to the borders of Ulster county and the

* Wayne sent to Washington only this brief dispatch: "The fort is ours. Officers and privates behaved like men determined to be free."

settlements on the Neversink river. A small expedition sent out against them was defeated and all but 30 massacred.

Sullivan's campaign, 1779.—It now became evident that more vigorous measures must be used, and General John Sullivan was placed in command of 5,000 continental soldiers. He entered upon this campaign in August, and on the 29th encountered the Indians near the present site of Elmira. The savages were defeated and pursued up the



JOHN SULLIVAN, 1740-1795

valley, and past the site of the present village of Horseheads*. On Sept. 2 Sullivan burned their village at Catherine's Town†, destroying crops and orchards. A detachment of soldiers was sent up the Canisteo and Cohocton valleys to devastate the Indian settlements in those localities.

The Genesee valley devastated.—So energetic had been the pursuit that by the middle of September, General Sullivan and his troops had reached the beautiful Genesee valley, then not occupied by a single

* Some thirty or forty of General Sullivan's worn-out horses were shot at this place. The Indians gathered the heads and arranged them at the sides of the path; hence the name.

† Captain Montour, son of Queen Catherine, died of wounds during this raid, hence the present name "Montour Falls".

white settler. This was a very paradise to the red man. Here were orchards and corn-fields such as the Indian had never been supposed to possess. From this valley all their supplies were drawn. Under the teaching of the French they had acquired a knowledge of agriculture almost incredible, and their dwellings seemed the homes of civilized men.

Everything was destroyed. Villages and standing corn were burned, orchards were cut down, and the Indians were hunted like wild beasts through the forests. It was a terrible retribution, and for a time the savages were completely subdued; but after recovering from their first terror they were even more ferocious than before.

Sullivan's campaign through the dense forests of southern and western New York must rank among the greatest enterprises of the revolutionary period.

The Johnstown raid.—The Iroquois were not destroyed. Sir John Johnson used the chastisement they had received to stir them up to fiercer barbarities. In May, 1780, under his leadership and with the aid of a few regulars and a band of tories, they again penetrated the region about Johnstown, fell upon the settlements in the night-time, destroyed every house not the home of a tory, and escaped to Canada.

Canajoharie and Fort Plain.—Other raids followed. In August of this year, 1780, Brant appeared once more with 500 Indians and tories. The settlements at Canajoharie and Fort Plain were ruined. Many people were murdered and more than fifty taken away as prisoners.

Invasion of the Schoharie valley.—Late in the autumn a more extensive expedition was led by Sir John Johnson, Joseph Brant, and a Seneca chief called Cornplanter. This expedition fell upon the valley of the Schoharie, the scene of so many massacres.

It was the middle of October. A bountiful harvest had been gathered and the barns were filled. Sir John's orders were to sweep the valley to the Mohawk*. A small force of continentals under General Robert Van Rensselaer was sent in pursuit. On reaching Caughnawaga they found it in flames. Colonel Brown, with a small detachment met Johnson at Palatine Bridge, was defeated, and, with forty of his men, slain.

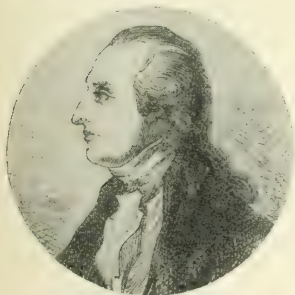
The pursuit was continued, but so tardily that once more Sir John escaped to Canada with many prisoners and a great quantity of plunder.

Sir John Johnson.—The leading spirit in all these cruelties, as we have seen, was Sir John Johnson. His association with savage warfare has brought great odium upon his name. His property and person had been respected by General Schuyler in 1776, when he had given his solemn promise not to engage in any further enterprises against the people of New York. This promise he had broken. Returning from Canada, he had led the savages in their raids against the settlers. A petty lord among the Indians, he could not bring himself to regard the interests of the commonwealth in which he had been a voluntary citizen.

* This, of course, did not include the property of Tories. Their buildings were spared, but not long after they were destroyed by the patriots, in retaliation.

Another invasion from Canada, 1780.—While the interior of the State had been desolated by these raids, Carleton, from Canada, had again invaded the region of Lake Champlain. He captured and destroyed Fort George, and sent out marauding parties into all that portion of the State. Then, proceeding to Crown Point, he landed and took his course toward Schenectady. He reached Ballston, which he destroyed, but from that place he was obliged to turn back.

Arnold's treason, 1780.—From the beginning of the revolution, there had not been in the American armies another man of a character so contradictory as Benedict Arnold's. Brave to the point of rashness, haughty, often insubordinate, insensible to the claims of gratitude or the rules of honor, from childhood cruel and revengeful, he yet had the ability to



BENEDICT ARNOLD, 1741-1801

inspire the loftiest patriotism in others, and at times exhibited emotions of deepest sympathy for the unfortunate.

Apparently insensible to fatigue and hunger and wounds in the cause of his country, he was still capable of trading on all these for a chance of promotion. We have seen Arnold at Ticonderoga, at Quebec, Oriskany, Bemis Heights, and Saratoga,—the very incarnation of fine soldierly qualities. His is the sad story of the fall of a brave soldier, a brilliant leader, a trusted

general. His character was a strange combination of high ambitions and base motives.

Trusted by Washington, defended when a hot temper had brought him into disgrace, Arnold was willing to involve his best friend in the ruin and fall of the country he professed to love.

On the field at Bemis Heights he had been reprovved by General Gates for disobedience. He then became insubordinate; he was deprived of his command and afterward court-martialed.

His reprimand by Washington.—His sentence was that he should be reprimanded by Washington. That reprimand, still preserved, shows a deep affection for the unhappy recipient, and should have won the most obdurate heart. It is worth repeating for the insight it gives to the character of Washington:

“Our profession is the chastest of all. The shadow of a fault tarnishes our most brilliant actions. The least inadvertence may cause us to lose that public favor which is so hard to be regained. I reprimand you for having forgotten that in proportion as you have rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have shown moderation toward our citizens. Exhibit again those splendid qualities which have placed you in the rank of our most distinguished generals. As far as it shall be in my power, I will myself furnish you with opportunities for regaining the esteem which you have formerly enjoyed.”

Treason long meditated.—Even at that time Arnold was, under an assumed name, in secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton; every step he

took thereafter had reference to the treason which he so nearly consummated. He was already a lost man.

Complaining that his wounds rendered him unfit for active field-service, he asked for and obtained command of the small force which took possession of Philadelphia after its evacuation by the English army. Here he allied himself by marriage with a tory family, and plunged into the most extravagant manner of living; thus to his other troubles adding financial embarrassment.

Plan of betrayal.—Then it was that he conceived the plan of obtaining command at West Point, and surrendering that gateway of the Hudson to the enemy. To obtain this he resorted to subterfuges which deceived Washington. No sooner was he in command than he pushed his treasonable plans with an art that would have done credit to Satan.

Interview with Major Andre.—Soon Arnold and

Major André of the English army were in consultation within the American lines. The exact price of his treason in cash and titles was agreed upon. It was planned that under the pretence of an anticipated attack, he should scatter his garrison among the many ravines which surround West Point,



JOHN ANDRÉ, 1751-1780

while the precise routes by which the English forces were to advance were also marked out.



CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

Writers have often remarked on the shrewdness of the plan by which Arnold carried on his correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for a year and a half, while he was at the same time employed and trusted in the service of his country. It seemed impossible for the plan to miscarry. It was, indeed, worthy of the mind that conceived it.

Strange chain of circumstances.—But the chain of circumstances by which it was undone was still more remarkable, for the actors in the different parts had no connection with or knowledge of each other.

The ship "*Vulture*", in which André had come up the river, was driven down stream by a volunteer battery on shore, which on that particular morning was in the immediate vicinity. This made it necessary for André to return by land. On the day that he was making this return trip, five men had of their own free will, agreed to watch the road to prevent their neighbors from driving cattle to the New York markets to feed the English army, and they took the particular road by which André was quietly journeying toward the English lines. Just as they were about to dismiss him, after their self-instituted search, one of their number bethought himself to examine André's stockings, and found the papers. In the general poverty of those times, it is remarkable that these men were in no way influenced by André's liberal offers of British gold.

The next strange link in the chain is that when they had turned their prisoner over to the nearest continental officer, he should have been too stolid to com-

prehend the case and should have sent André back to Arnold.

More remarkable still is the fact that André had been gone but an hour, when a younger but brighter officer chanced to stop at that place and learn the story just in time to pursue and bring André back. And, strangest of all, on that same eventful morning, Washington himself reached West Point, on his return from Hartford, and soon knew the whole affair.

Who shall say how much of what men call "chance" in this world is a part of those deep designs of Providence which guide the affairs of men and of nations.

Fates of Arnold and Andre.—Arnold escaped—if we may call that an escape when a man fails of the punishment of his crimes—to live dishonored and die at last, detested by all honest men of every nation.

André was tried and sentenced to be hanged as a spy. He was a brave man and died as a soldier should. In the last hours of his life, he was the recipient of every kindness that it was in the power of his captors to grant.

Quite too much sentiment has been wasted on the fate of this unhappy man, whose case has often been compared to that of Nathan Hale (see page 248).

Hale took his life in his hands and went out as a spy, penetrating the lines of the enemy to obtain needed information for his commanding general.

André entered the American lines to negotiate for and purchase treason,—a crime against nature. He was no ordinary spy. Hale's burial place is unknown, but within recent years an American has erected a

monument to the memory of Major André, whose remains rest under a handsome monument in Westminster Abbey.

In the chapel at West Point the visitor sees a series of mural tablets in memory of the general officers of the revolution. One of these is *blank*. *It stands for Benedict Arnold*,—a suggestion of what he might have been,—a type of what he became.

The contemplated fruits of treason.—It is now known why Sir Henry Clinton with his army lingered all summer in New York. During those months the correspondence with Arnold was going on. He hoped by means of it to retrieve at one stroke all Burgoyne's disasters and give the death-blow to American independence.

SUMMARY

1. Stony Point and General Wayne, 1779.
2. Punishment of Onondagas; effect of.
3. Sullivan's campaign, 1779.
4. Year of Indian massacres, 1780; Johnstown, Canajoharie, Schoharie Valley and the Mohawk.
5. Sir John Johnson.
6. Invasion of New York 1780; burning of Ballston.
7. Story of Arnold's treason.
8. André and Nathan Hale.
9. West Point chapel.
10. Sir Henry Clinton and Arnold's treason.

CHAPTER XXXIII

INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED

The winter of 1780-81.—Of Arnold's treason, Washington said little. To one of his most faithful aides he said, "Whom can we trust now?" Through that memorable autumn he grew more watchful than ever, kept his small force well in hand, and guarded against surprise at every point.

As winter came on the army again built its log huts among the hills and mountains to the west, north and east of New York. The soldiers had been 14 months without pay; their rations were poor and often scant. Some mutinied, but most suffered in silence. Congress was powerless, for there were no funds.

Clearing skies.—In the south, General Greene had superseded General Gates, and quickly proved that he could out-general Cornwallis. As spring approached, the skies began to clear.



NATHANIEL GREENE, 1742-1786



COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU, 1725-1807

French allies.—In May, 1781 Washington held a conference at Weathersfield, Connecticut, with Count Rochambeau, who had with him at Newport a division of the French army, numbering 6,000. There it was agreed to prepare for the siege of New York in concert with the French fleet expected in the summer; while their plans also contemplated operations in quite another field, should General Clinton pave the way for them.

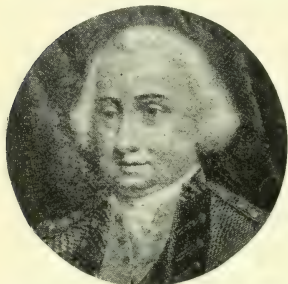
Sir Henry Clinton became alarmed. Every day he saw fresh indications that he was to be attacked. He had sent detachments to the assistance of Cornwallis in Virginia. These he now began to recall, leaving Cornwallis to his fate, precisely as Washington had hoped.

The final campaign, 1781.—Early in July, Washington suddenly concentrated his forces and camped at Dobb's Ferry, nearly opposite the Palisades. Shortly after, he moved to Kingsbridge, and the French troops occupied Dobb's Ferry. Sir Henry now thought he understood Washington's plans; demonstrations began to be made at various points on his lines. Roads were built, camps laid out, ovens constructed, and supplies accumulated. An officer with Washington wrote to a friend: "Our situation reminds me of a theatrical exhibition."

Surrender of Cornwallis.—So certain had Sir Henry Clinton now become, that he directed Cornwallis to move to the Virginia capes and await transportation to New York, to take part in its defence. Hardly had Cornwallis taken this position when Count De Grasse

with 28 French ships of the line blocked the river, and La Fayette moved forward to keep watch over him.

Cornwallis had called La Fayette a "silly boy".



CHARLES MARQUIS CORNWALLIS
1738-1805



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE,
1757-1834

He was now to learn respect for the gallant Frenchman's ability. This was the stage of the game for which Washington had been so long waiting, and toward which all his pretended preparations near New York had contributed.

On Aug. 15 Washington sent out detachments in several directions to keep up the appearance of an intended attack, while his whole army in two columns started with the greatest haste for Virginia. So successful was the ruse, so rapid the march, that he was well on his way before General Clinton, shut up in New York, discovered that he had gone. On August 30, Washington was at Philadelphia. On the 9th of September he visited his home at Mount Vernon, which he had not seen in six years, and on the 28th Cornwallis was surrounded.

By the middle of October he was in despair. On the 19th of that month he surrendered to the allied French and American forces.

The news of the surrender.—It seems incredible that with the means of communication then in use, the news of the great achievement could travel so rapidly. In a few days it was known all over the colonies. In a month all Europe had heard of it.

The British ministry was condemned in the most vigorous terms. It was accused of having squandered a hundred million pounds to alienate thirteen colonies. England demanded peace, but the king was stubborn and refused to listen.

Washington in New York, 1780-83.—Washington did not tarry in Virginia. He immediately returned to New York and with his army sat down to watch the British there. He made his headquarters at Newburg*, and his army was encamped between that place and New Windsor. Negotiations for peace were soon commenced and while they dragged their weary, diplomatic way, a sort of armed truce existed between the two hostile camps.

Sir Henry Clinton was denounced for allowing himself to be outwitted by Washington, and was soon recalled. He was succeeded by Sir Guy Carleton, a wise and humane officer. One of his first acts was the release of every American then confined in the prisons about New York. He soon announced that he had “come to conciliate, not to fight”.

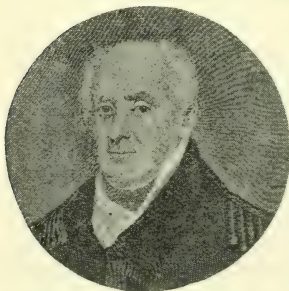
Tryon's raids upon the defenceless settlers ceased, and hope revived in the hearts of the people.

* Newburg contains many interesting mementoes of Washington and the Revolution. The house which he used is still preserved and belongs to the State. It is kept in repair, and is used as a museum of revolutionary relics.

A monarchy proposed.—But the troubles of the colonies were not all at an end. Dissatisfaction with congress was expressed everywhere. Complaints were loud among the soldiers encamped along the Hudson. Many of them were destitute, weary of the war, and large numbers were suffering from sickness and half-healed wounds.

Then it was that Colonel Nicola of a Pennsylvania regiment wrote his famous letter to General Washington, proposing that he should take possession of the government, set himself up as king, and right the wrongs of the army. There was at that time nothing in the proposition to startle men. The confederation was an acknowledged failure. Republics were almost unknown. Washington's sharp, sorrowful rebuke closed this incident immediately.

The Newburg address, 1783.—A more serious



JOHN ARMSTRONG, 1758-1843

matter now arose. Major John Armstrong*, who belonged to General Gates's staff, wrote an anonymous "address" which was quietly circulated through the army. This professed to come from a disabled veteran. It advised the men to take matters into their own hands and compel congress to do justice to the

army. It cast a reflection upon Washington by advis-

* Afterward minister to France (1803-1810), and secretary of war under Madison.

ing soldiers "to suspect a man who in those times advocated conciliatory measures". With it was a proposal for a meeting of officers to consider the question.

In a meeting of general officers which Washington called March 19, 1783, he carefully reviewed the entire subject in a most patriotic spirit, and immediately left the room. The officers condemned the "address" and commended the course Washington had taken.

The fact was, congress was bankrupt. The army could not be paid for there were no revenues*. The States were so many independent republics, which could not be compelled to put money into a national treasury. Indeed, the treasuries of most of the States were empty.

Disbanding the army, 1783.—In a few weeks Washington began to disband the continental army. He issued long furloughs to those men who had enlisted for the war, and they were not required to return. On Sept. 3, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, and on Oct. 18 congress, by proclamation, discharged the soldiers of the army.

Evacuation of New York.—The date fixed for the evacuation of New York by the English was Nov. 25, 1783,—a day which has since that time been known as "evacuation day".

Early in the morning, Washington and his staff, accompanied by Governor Clinton and the remnant of the American army, appeared at the head of Bowery Lane. There they halted until noon. The English at

* There was a foreign debt of eight million dollars and a domestic debt of thirty millions.

that hour had formed at the water's edge, ready for embarkation. The Americans now marched into New York city. The military took possession of Fort George at the foot of Broadway, and the governor with the civil officers entered the city hall and there established the civil government of the State of New York.

Washington's farewell.—All necessary preparations having been made, on Dec. 4, Washington called his faithful officers about him, and bade them an affectionate farewell. From New York he went at once to Annapolis, where the continental congress was in session, and on Dec. 23, 1783, he resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies. From Annapolis he departed for his home at Mount Vernon, which, eight years before he had left to take command of the army at Boston*.

SUMMARY

1. The winter of 1780–81.
2. Weathersfield conference; plans laid.
3. Effect on Clinton; his action.
4. The final campaign; the New York ruse; the race for Virginia.
5. Cornwallis taken.
6. Washington in New York.
7. Colonel Nicola's proposition.

* About this time the "Society of Cincinnati" was formed among Washington's officers. Its purpose was to promote friendship among themselves and to extend aid to any who might be in want. Its charter made only the eldest male descendant eligible to membership.

8. The Newburg address.
9. The army disbanded.
10. Evacuation of New York.
11. Washington's farewell; the Cincinnati.

CHAPTER XXXIV

NEW YORK'S SHARE IN THE REVOLUTION

Counting the cost.—The war was over. Its cost to the States in men and treasure had been immense. New York, alone, from her population of not more than 235,000 had furnished 41,633 men to the patriot army, and had paid into the general treasury \$7,900,000. She had done this while her chief city, New York, and all Long Island had been in the hands of the enemy. Within her borders had been fought a great number of the serious battles of the war, in many of which her militia had won the chief honors.

Upon her had fallen the bitter experiences of savage warfare. Year by year, the most fertile portions of the State had been swept bare by Indian raids and her most prosperous settlements destroyed. Her people were poor; all her industries were paralyzed; immigration had ceased. She was an independent commonwealth, but possessed no treasury and had no revenues.

Her migratory legislature had returned to New York city, one-half of which was in ruins. The great bay contained not one American ship. The rotten wharves were vacant; the warehouses empty. Independence had been gained, but with it had come poverty, distress, and debt.

No other State had so completely met all the requirements of congress, and to no other State was the return of peace so welcome.

The tories.—War usually leaves its animosities, and the revolution was no exception. Especially was this true in New York city, where toryism had been fostered by British occupancy during almost the entire period of the war. New York had become a place of refuge for the tories of every State, and their spirit had penetrated all classes, from the baronial patroon to the humblest laborer. Here patriots had been driven from their homes and their property had been seized and occupied for military purposes.

Many of the tories, while their neighbors were starving outside the English lines, had lived at ease and grown rich by trade.

Outside the city there were whole counties where the name tory was synonymous with Indian and was always associated with massacre and pillage.

Retaliation proposed.—There was a large and influential body of citizens who insisted that every tory should be driven from the State. The day of retribution, they said, had come. The legislature had hardly assembled before a memorial signed by many men of the best character was presented. It stated that the signers had just returned to their homes after a long, enforced absence, to take possession of the little that was left them. Here they found men who, in the long struggle, had made every effort to prevent independence; men who had grown fat on the miseries of their country.

It was proposed that the governors of the different States should make and exchange lists of proscribed persons, that they might find no rest for the soles of their feet in any State.

A "trespass bill" was passed. This gave to the owner of a house the power to collect damages from any man who in the owner's enforced absence had occupied it.

Time at last brought its remedy. Gradually the tories returned to their homes, and other matters absorbed public attention.

New York at the close of the revolution.—New York was now the fifth State in population. New York city contained about 24,000 inhabitants. Long Island had nearly 31,000, and the whole State about 234,000. Virginia had twice as many; Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Massachusetts also exceeded New York in population. The settlements were confined chiefly to Long Island, Staten Island, Manhattan Island, and the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and the streams flowing into them.

New York city.—In New York city, the Dutch element exceeded the English, and the Dutch language was to some extent spoken.

New York city lay between the fort (battery) on the south, Anthony street on the north, Rutgers on the east, and Harrison on the west.

This section was then occupied not only by business places, but by residences also,—the latter often surrounded by extensive gardens. Where is now the city hall park was a common, called the "flat", or the "fields", where public out-door meetings were held.

North of this was a fresh-water pond, where boys fished in summer and skated in winter. To the east lay Beekman's swamp, at high-tide often covered with water. Above Anthony street, Broadway was a coun-

try road. They were few paved streets, and these were so rough as to be barely passable.

In the State at large.—Kingston had been destroyed; Poughkeepsie was a thriving village; Newburg had a few houses clustered about a tavern. Hudson was a farm. Troy was a little village, the home of the Van Rensselaers. Albany was the second city in the State, and the sixth in the country, and there Dutch names and Dutch customs lingered longest. Beyond, to the north and west, the country was for the most part a wilderness.

Oswego was a military post, the extreme western frontier. Where Rochester and Syracuse now stand, deer browsed unmolested except by the Indian hunter. On the present site of the city of Buffalo stood a single log store for trade with the Indians,—the property of a Hudson river Dutchman, Cornelias Winney. Along the “southern tier” there were very few settlements west of the Hudson.

The homes of the people.—New York city was then as since the home of many wealthy families, and there was little attempt to cultivate in these homes, the virtue of “American simplicity”. Europeans who visited New York had occasion to remark on the “elegant style” in which people whom they met were living.

Classes of society.—There were three very distinct orders of society, and these did not commingle. Those in any way connected with the government constituted a class by themselves. The trades people made a sort of middle aristocracy, while below these were the people who earned their living by any sort of manual labor.

The ruling class lived in luxury, the trades people in comfort, the laborers in poverty.

In the homes of the first could be found imported furniture, Delft-ware and silver-plate. The middle class used furniture of domestic manufacture, were glad of a little wedgewood ware for special occasions, and could polish up their pewter plates and tankards until they rivalled the best silver-ware.

The lot of the laboring man was a hard one; yet having never known any other, and being equally without the hope of anything better, he did not often complain. His wages were not more than two shillings a day, and only by the closest economy could he keep his family together. His sons were usually apprenticed, early, to some trade. His daughters went out to service. By his side walked two spectres; one was the fear that he might be called from earth before his children were grown, for there were then no orphan asylums; the other that he might meet with some accident that would incapacitate him for labor, when it was the custom, as soon as he recovered, to throw him into prison as a debtor.

SUMMARY

1. Cost of the war.
2. The tories.
3. The trespass bill.
4. New York at the close of the revolution.
5. Homes of the people.
6. Classes of citizens.

CHAPTER XXXV

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT

Four problems.—The legislature of New York found itself face to face with several grave problems, which demanded immediate settlement:

1. New York must make treaties with other States and settle at once her old boundary disputes.

2. Certain Indian titles must be extinguished and vacant lands opened to settlement.

3. Congress had asked the States to vest in that body all power to collect duties on imports, as a means of paying the national war debt. A large share of these duties would come from New York, and were needed to pay the State's own obligations.

4. With these came, almost immediately, the question of abandoning the "confederation" and forming "a more permanent union" under a new national constitution.

New York's claim to Vermont.—The dispute with New Hampshire was an old one,—going back to 1760. During the colonial wars a military road had been opened from New Hampshire to Crown Point. This road crossed the present State of Vermont from south-east to north-west, and in 1761 speculators began to turn their attention to the lands through which it passed. The governor of New Hampshire ordered a

survey to be made, laying out townships on both sides of the Connecticut river, and claiming the land to Lake Champlain. But New York also claimed eastward to the Connecticut river. Settlers from New Hampshire took titles from that State and located on these lands. Settlers from New York armed with deeds from their State did the same, and soon it was discovered that these deeds and grants often conveyed the same territory. Troubles ensued; proclamations and counter-proclamations were issued by the governors, each warning settlers from the other State to vacate.

New York sent land agents to drive settlers from the New Hampshire grants, and in 1779, Ethan Allen organized his "Green Mountain Boys" to resist these agents.

Then New York appealed to the king, who confirmed her claim, but ordered that no more grants be given in the disputed territory.

The revolutionary war interrupted, but did not adjust this controversy. The matter went to congress in 1777; and that body by special legislation decided that the territory of Vermont "be ranked among the free and independent States, and that delegates therefrom be admitted to congress."

This did not satisfy New York, and her legislature passed a series of "resolutions" condemning the "resolutions of congress".

Vermont relinquished.—Washington, seeing that this dispute was interfering with military operations, proposed that the matter be concluded at once, but no

agreement was reached until 1787, when the questions in controversy were submitted to commissioners appointed by the two States.

New York then relinquished her claims on the payment of \$30,000, and in 1791 Vermont was recognized as a "free and independent State" and admitted to the union.

Massachusetts claim settled.—The charter which Massachusetts received in 1629, like those given to most of the early colonies, conveyed the lands within certain prescribed north and south limits,—“west to the South Sea”, or Pacific Ocean.

On this ground Massachusetts laid claim to a large part of the soil within the limits of New York. This claim was adjusted by a convention held at Hartford, Conn., in December, 1786, when New York agreed to cede to Massachusetts “those lands lying west of a line drawn from Sodus Bay through Seneca lake to the north line of Pennsylvania; and also a smaller tract lying between the Chenango river and Owego creek in the counties of Broome and Tioga”,—New York retaining “government, sovereignty and jurisdiction” over the same.

This was indeed a very large concession, but it made little difference to New York. Her revenues have not been derived from the sale of wild lands, but from the wealth of her prosperous citizens.

The Phelps and Gorham purchase.—James McCauley, in his “History of New York”, published in 1829, quaintly says of this transaction: “This cession,

embracing about 10,000 square miles, was made to quiet, or put at rest, certain antiquated claims set up by Massachusetts to certain lands in New York. These claims were supported by an antiquated charter, which never had any validity. The government of Massachusetts sold the first tract to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham for \$1,000,000*, and the second to John Brown and others for \$3,300 (and some cents). This much at present concerning lands trifled away without any equivalent, so much as a beaver skin."

Indian titles.—A treaty of peace was negotiated with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix (Rome) October, 1784. This was done by a commission appointed by the United States. At this conference Red Jacket, the great Seneca chief and orator, appeared in opposition to the treaty. The Six Nations were guaranteed peaceable possession of their lands east of Buffalo, which was fixed as their western limit. Into these lands the settlers soon began to pour. The purchasers of the lands ceded to Massachusetts had been required to extinguish the Indian titles, prior to settlement.

Purchase of Indian titles.—In May, 1786, the legislature of New York passed "An act for the speedy sale of the unappropriated lands within the State". This seems to have been done for the benefit of speculators, and at the same time to shirk the responsibility of the Indian titles; for these lands were sold in large

* Phelps and Gorham failed in payment, took a smaller tract in settlement and the remainder was subsequently sold to other parties, —the Holland company purchasing 3,600,000 acres.

tracts to men who subsequently sub-divided and sold the same to actual settlers.

These tracts were purchased at a price so low that the owners could easily afford afterward to satisfy the Indians. Gradually the State purchased the Indian titles to all unsold lands, leaving to them certain reservations, paying them a purchase price agreed upon, and granting them an annuity thereafter. At the close of the revolution the Mohawks fled to Canada and received no reservation, but in 1797 were paid \$1,600 for all their claims.

SUMMARY

1. Four problems.
2. New York's claim to Vermont.
3. Claim of Massachusetts; settlement.
4. Phelps and Gorham purchase; Holland land company.
5. Indian titles; treaty of Fort Stanwix.
6. Sale of public lands.
7. The Mohawks.

PERIOD VIII

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

CHAPTER XXXVI

ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Need of a National Government.—In 1786 New York had not yet acceded to the request of congress to vest in that body the power to collect duties on its imports.

Congress now asked Governor Clinton to call a special session of the legislature to consider this important question. This the governor refused to do. What could more clearly demonstrate the weakness, the entire impotence of the confederation, than the spectacle of a national government begging a State to take some action to protect the national credit! On this question there was much discussion. One party insisted that New York could not afford to surrender its only source of revenue; that it would lead to smuggling and that it was dangerous to entrust congress with any further powers.

The other party argued, justly, that since the State must help to support the general government, it might as well be done in this way as in any other; that duties in all American ports should be uniform, and that there was no other way in which this could be accomplished; that congress could as easily prevent smuggling as could the State; and they laughed, as well

they might, at the danger of congressional powers*.

The New York chamber of commerce sent in a memorial, showing the folly of a system which gave to congress the power of making treaties, but took from it the power to carry out those treaties.

The merchants favored the measure; the farmers and mechanics opposed it. The "request" was never granted; and fortunately, for its failure made still more apparent the necessity for a stronger national government and led to the adoption of the new constitution.

Government during the revolution.—It is difficult to conceive of a more shadowy and unsatisfactory form of government (if government it can be called where there was no authority) than that under which the colonies existed during the whole period of the revolution. So early as 1754 a union had been proposed, but in 1773 the feeling that the colonies must unite became general, and in 1774 this took form in the first continental congress. See page 217.

In 1775, Benjamin Franklin, who had long been an advocate of colonial union, laid before congress a plan for a "perpetual confederation" of the States.

Congress was engrossed with other affairs and took no action. In the absence of any actual authority, that body began to exercise legislative functions; yet any of its acts could be and frequently were absolutely ignored by the various State legislatures.

In June, 1776, a committee was appointed to prepare

* See McMaster's History of the People of the United States.

a plan for confederation. This committee reported but no immediate action was taken. Meanwhile the power of Great Britain had been overthrown in all the colonies, and they had adopted independent State constitutions; this rendered the proposed union much easier of accomplishment.

Articles of confederation.—Finally, on November 15th, 1777, congress adopted the proposed “articles of confederation”, and sent them out to the States for ratification. New York adopted them in the following February, 1778; but it was not until July that they were accepted by a requisite number of States*.

These “articles” recognized the independence of the several States, except in the matter of declaring war or making peace; the regulation of foreign intercourse; receiving and sending ambassadors; the coinage of money; the settlement of boundaries, and the care of the public domain.

There was no chief magistrate, no national judiciary; and the consent of nine States was necessary to every act of legislation,—each State having one vote.

In congress there was but one house; and to this each State could send as many “delegates” as it chose; it could also fix the time of their election and term of service. The time had come when, if ever, the form of government must be changed.

* The chief controversy was over the surrender of title to western lands. New York had bought Indian titles to lands in the Ohio valley. She was the first State to make this surrender (see McMaster's U. S. History).

The Annapolis convention, 1786.—At the request of Washington, a convention met at Annapolis in September, 1786, to consider amendments to the articles of confederation. Five States only responded. Nothing came of this convention except the call for another to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. To this convention, so famous in our national history, New York sent Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., and Alexander Hamilton. But thirty years of age, Hamilton quickly became prominent in the convention over which Washington presided, and he was foremost among those who advocated the adoption of the new constitution. The session lasted from May until September, 1787, when the articles of confederation had been abandoned and a permanent constitution prepared.

Objections to the constitution.—From the first it was evident that the federal constitution could not be carried without a struggle. Among its advocates in New York, besides Alexander Hamilton, were Chief-Justice Jay, Richard Morris, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, and Mayor James Duane of New York city. Its opponents included Governor Clinton, Robert Yates, John Lansing, jr., and Melancthon Smith; all were of great ability and of wide influence.

Through the "Federalist" Hamilton, Jay, and Madison placed before the people what their prophetic eyes could see as the future of New York, when she should become a part of a strong, federal union. What then seemed a dim prophecy, we can now see was unalterable destiny.

The chief objections to the constitution were these:

(1) The enormous powers it gave to the president.

(2) The length of his term of office.

(3) The equal representation of the States, large and small, in the senate.

(4) The surrender of New York's import duties to the national treasury.

(5) The absorption of many former functions of State government by congress, and the danger that a government with such wide powers might destroy the very liberties which had just been acquired.

The advocates of the new constitution argued that the weakness of the present government had been demonstrated; that only a strong federation could stand. They ridiculed the supposed dangers of a government, every member of which was elected by the people and answerable to them for a faithful performance of duty.

Federalists and anti-federalists.—With the question of adopting or rejecting the proposed constitution came a political revolution.

Old parties disappeared. One question absorbed public attention: "Shall New York adopt the proposed constitution?" Those who favored it were "federalists"; those who opposed it became "anti-federalists". These two parties remained and strove with each other years after the new constitution had justified the wisdom of the men who framed it.

New York accepts the constitution.—In the New York legislature, January, 1788, Egbert Benson moved a State convention to consider the new national constitution. This convention met at Poughkeepsie, June

17, 1788. It contained 64 delegates*, and was presided over by Governor Clinton.

The debate lasted until July 11, when, just as a vote was to be taken with the probability of failure, news was received that enough States had already ratified the constitution to make its adoption certain.

This produced a sensation. The question now was, "Shall New York adopt or secede from the confederation?" The resolution was changed to read, "Resolved that the constitution be ratified, in full confidence that the amendments proposed by this convention will be adopted." On this resolution, Alexander Hamilton made the greatest speech of his life, and on July 26 the vote was taken. The result was very close; 30 for and 27 against, seven not voting. In his address to the legislature in December, Governor Clinton used the following language in regard to the action of New York:

"It (the constitution) was assented to in the express confidence that the exercise of different powers would be suspended until it should undergo a revision by a general convention of the States."

At the first session of the first congress, amendments were proposed which substantially removed the objections raised by the New York convention.

Ten of these amendments were ratified by the New York legislature, March 27, 1790, and the eleventh, Sept. 21, 1791, thus apparently justifying New York's objection†.

* See New York Civil List, 1881.

† See amendments to the constitution, I-XI, Northam's Civil Government, pp. 146-148.

With the gravest questions it ever had to meet wisely settled, New York was now ready to undertake matters more immediately pertaining to her own future growth and development.

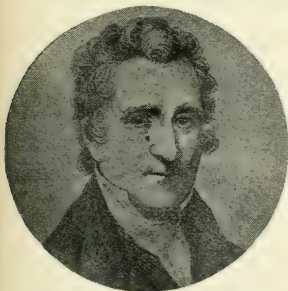
SUMMARY

1. Question of surrendering the revenues; arguments for and against.
2. Government during the revolution; Franklin's plan.
3. Articles of confederation.
4. New York adoption of the articles of confederation.
5. The convention of 1787; New York's delegation.
6. Leading advocates of new constitution.
7. Leading opponents of new constitution.
8. Writers of "The Federalist".
9. Objections to constitution.
10. Arguments for adoption.
11. The two parties; federalists and anti-federalists.
12. The constitution before the New York legislature, 1788.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE NEW GOVERNMENT, 1788

Election of representatives.—Having accepted the new national constitution, New York's next step was to carry out its provisions. Accordingly, on Dec. 8, 1788, the State legislature directed the election, by the people, of representatives to congress.



EGBERT BENSON, 1746-1833

These first representatives were Egbert Benson, William Floyd, John Hathorn, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, and Peter Sylvester.

New York was not represented in the national senate during the first session of the first congress. In a special session of the legislature convened July 19th, General Philip Schuyler and Rufus King were chosen as New York's first senators. The State's delegation in each house was a strong one. Benson had been New York's first attorney-general, a mem-



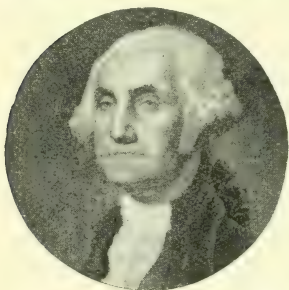
RUFUS KING, 1755-1827

ber of the revolutionary "committee of safety", and

subsequently a member of the State legislature, and member of the continental congress.

William Floyd had been one of New York's signers of the Declaration of Independence. John Hathorn had done distinguished service in the revolution, and Van Rensselaer was of the patroon's family and had been lieutenant-governor of the State.

The first president of the United States.—



GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1732-1799
PRESIDENT, 1789-1797

There had been but one man named for the first president of the United States, that was "The first man of his times"—General George Washington. John Adams was chosen vice-president.

The first congress.—The old continental congress had decided that New York city should be the first seat of the new national government*. For this there were abundant reasons, but the one which had greatest weight was its central position in the new republic.

Congress was to meet on March 4, 1789, in the city hall on Wall street. New Yorkers for a time, forgot all their differences in an effort to give the new government a royal welcome.

Owing to the dreadful condition of the roads at that time of year, only a few members were present at the

* In 1790 congress removed to Philadelphia, and in 1799 to Washington.

time set for the meeting of congress. Days, even weeks, passed while they straggled in.

The vice-president, coming only from Massachusetts, was able to reach New York on April 21, but Washington did not arrive until the 23d. His journey had been hindered, not only by the almost impassable roads, but by the ovations which met him at every town through which he passed.

Imagine the Father of his Country, the president of the United States, riding on horseback a large part of the distance from the Potomac to New York city in the month of April!

Inauguration of Washington.—On April 30, 1789 religious services were held in all the churches.

Washington was escorted from the presidential mansion on Cherry street to the city hall, where, in full view of a great throng, Robert R. Livingston, first chancellor of the State of New York, administered the oath of office to the first president of the United States. Then, entering the senate chamber, Washington read his inaugural address, after which the whole assembly went on foot to St. Paul's chapel, Broadway, where prayers for the new government were read by the chaplain. So becomingly simple were the ceremonies which ushered in the republic of the United States of America.

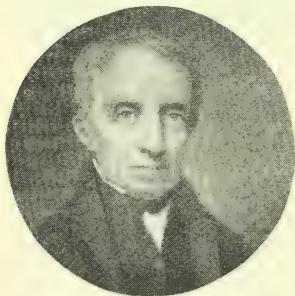
It was auspicious that this ceremony should take place within the bounds of a State destined to lead all the others in wealth, in population, in commerce, and in national influence.

Naturally, General Schuyler, John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton had great influence with Washington, and New York was well represented in the govern-

ment. John Jay was made chief justice, and Alexander Hamilton became secretary of the treasury.

Internal improvements.—New roads now began to be opened through the State in every direction; some of them at the expense of the State; many by land proprietors, others by emigrants that they might reach lands which they had selected. The difficulty of getting the products of far away settlements to the markets of New York and other sea-port towns, and of taking to these settlements in return the supplies they needed, turned men's thoughts toward improved methods of communication through the State.

Internal navigation.—In 1784 Christopher Colles*



CHRISTOPHER COLLES, 1738-1816

brought before the State legislature a proposition to improve the navigation of the Mohawk, but the matter excited very little interest. Later, Elkanah Watson visited many sections of the State and studied the problem. The result was the chartering in 1792 of two "Inland Lock Navigation" companies. These organizations actually began work at Little Falls and Stillwater in the spring of 1793, and in 1796 boats passed from the Mohawk river

* Christopher Colles, born in Ireland in 1738, was an engineer, and the first to propose a plan to supply New York with pure water. See Magazine of American History.

to Oneida lake. Such was the beginning which, sixteen years later, led to the construction of the Erie canal.

SUMMARY

1. New York's first delegation in congress.
2. First presidential election, 1788.
3. Inauguration of Washington, 1789.
4. Need of internal improvements.
5. First movements toward canals.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

NEW YORK MAKES SUBSTANTIAL GROWTH

Re-election of Clinton and Washington.—New York politics are frequently murky in our times; they were not less so in 1792. The opposing candidates for governor were George Clinton and John Jay. The contest was bitter. Decent men would now cry out against the obloquy heaped upon both candidates, and the methods resorted to by the adherents of each would invalidate any election of to-day. The vote of whole counties was thrown out with no investigation. Governor Clinton was declared re-elected by a bare majority of 103.

In the same year recurred the presidential election. Washington was again the unanimous choice of the people. New York came forward with two candidates in opposition to Mr. Adams; these were Governor Clinton and Aaron Burr. Mr. Adams was re-elected.

New York politics in 1792.—The anti-federalists had now become republicans, and the French revolution was to be an issue in New York. Naturally sympathy for France, our faithful ally, was intense, but when the Jacobins resorted to shocking excesses, and finally drove La Fayette from his country, the eyes of many Americans were opened.

They saw that what in France was called a republic,

was really anarchy, and they withdrew their support. This was the attitude of most of the federalists.

The republicans or anti-federalists as a rule, warmly espoused the cause of the French revolutionists for two reasons: they had, it was claimed, set up a republic; and they had gone to war with England. It mattered not that complete and terrible disorder had taken the place of all government, nor that the guillotine daily claimed a hundred victims. That France was at war with England was accepted as proof that France was in the right.

Washington had promptly issued a proclamation of neutrality, and was condemned for it in unmeasured terms by the republicans.

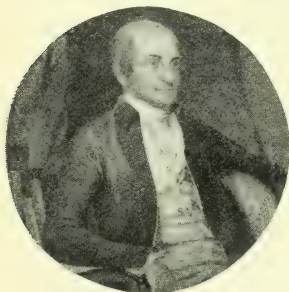
“Citizen” Genet.—In the spring of 1793 there came to the United States a representative from this “reign of terror” calling itself a government, one Edmund Genet,—“Citizen” Genet he was called, out of respect to the fanaticism which he represented. He landed at Charleston, S. C. He did not wait to present his credentials to Washington, but began at once to fit out privateers against England. As he travelled toward the seat of government, he was everywhere received with all the honors of a potentate, and he did not fail to use these occasions to stir up a feeling against both Washington and Great Britain.

At last he reached Philadelphia and tardily presented his credentials to the president. Even in that day of slow-traveling news, his reputation had preceded him.

The reception Genet received from Washington can easily be imagined. He retired from that dignified

presence with much less assurance than he had borne to it. He had received the rebuke he deserved. Genet's mission would not be worth our mention, had he not succeeded in exciting a quarrel in New York which rankled for many years, and very nearly involved the United States in another war with England.

John Jay elected governor of New York, 1795.



JOHN JAY, 1745-1829
GOVERNOR, 1795-1701

—George Clinton had now served his State as governor continuously since 1777, and in 1795 both he and Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt declined to be candidates for re-election. The federalists were in control of the State government, and John Jay was elected.

The English treaty.—When the election for governor took place, Mr. Jay was absent from the country. England had never fulfilled all the stipulations of the treaty of 1783, and on this ground the republicans were doing what lay in their power to bring about a rupture in the interests of France. In the hope that a peaceful solution of the difficulty might be found, the president had sent John Jay to England to negotiate a new treaty. A month after his election as governor, Mr. Jay returned, bearing the treaty. Immediately, even before its nature was known, he became the object of most outrageous attacks. He was denounced

as "traitor", and, what was by the republicans accounted an equal crime, he was called an aristocrat.

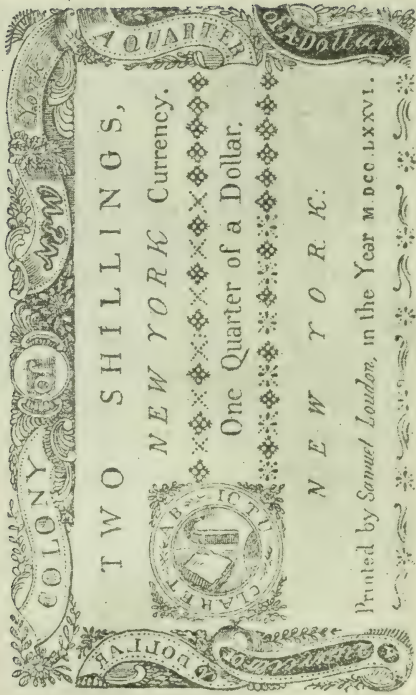
Mr. Jay was even accused of selling his country, and was hanged and burned in effigy by his fellow citizens.

The Bowling Green meeting, 1795.—One of the most shameful scenes that ever disgraced New York politics occurred at Bowling Green in 1795. A notice was circulated asking "all good citizens" to assemble at Federal hall. A copy of the treaty so recently secured by Mr. Jay had been obtained. The federalists saw no treason in it; the republicans denounced it as "a most shameful concession to England." "No time" they said "must be lost. The president may sign it any hour."

One citizen suggested that a public meeting was hardly the place to discuss a treaty. He was allowed to proceed no farther. Alexander Hamilton attempted to speak but was stoned. With his face streaming with blood, he called upon his friends to leave the meeting.

The assembly was now in the hands of the republicans, led by Burr and the Livingstons. It soon became a roaring mob, and adjourned to Bowling Green, where they burned the treaty and shouted themselves hoarse with epithets directed at Mr. Jay and his work. These troubles were the direct fruit of the intrigues of Citizen Genet, whom all finally came to see in his true character, the representative of an attempt to throw off all government.

Adams and Jefferson, 1797-1801.—Washington, having determined to retire from public life declined a



TWO SHILLINGS,
NEW YORK Currency.



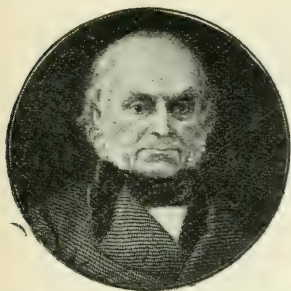
One Quarter of a Dollar.

NEW YORK:

Printed by Samuel London, in the Year M DCC LXXVI.

STATE MONEY OF NEW YORK

re-nomination. New York decided the election for



JOHN ADAMS, 1735-1826
PRESIDENT, 1797-1801



THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1826
PRESIDENT, 1801-1809

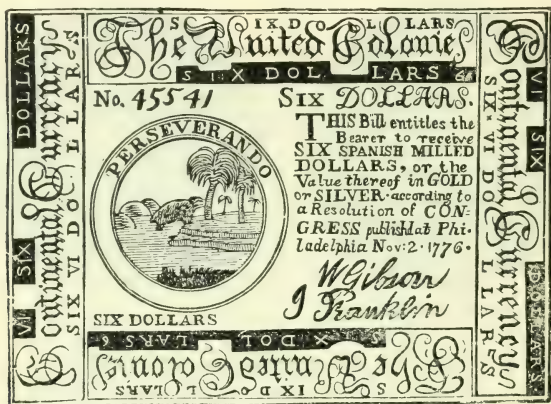
president by casting her vote for Mr. Adams, while Thomas Jefferson (republican) became vice-president*.

The State legislature at Albany.—With its twentieth session, the legislature removed to Albany at its second meeting. The business of managing the State finances had now become so important that the office of comptroller was created, and Samuel Jones, a State senator, was placed in that office by the council of appointment.

Paper money and State banks.—Since the revolution the finances of the State had been in a deplorable condition. Each State had its own standard of value, and the greatest confusion resulted. A shilling in New England was not the same as a shilling in New York. English coins,—guineas, crowns, shillings, and pence, were in circulation, as were the coins of Spain,

*Under the constitution at that time the candidate receiving the highest number of votes became president, and the second highest was vice-president.

France, and Holland. Continental money was prac-



tically valueless. The national government had done nothing toward the establishment of a fixed standard of value, and trade suffered in consequence.

Now, in many of the States, the advocates of paper money came forward. New Jersey had made a large issue of this fiat money. The legislature of New York was urged to do the same, and in 1786, a bill was passed creating an issue of £200,000 in paper. Eight shillings of this made a dollar. In July, 1786, the notes came out. At first they were taken at par in New York. Then the notes of other States began to come into New York and were refused by the merchants. In turn, the notes of New York were refused in other States.

In this way all were soon depreciated in value, and the coin of the country was gradually exported*.

* McMaster, Vol. I.

The first State bank.—"The bank of New York"—the first State bank—was chartered in 1791. Unfortunately the stock was chiefly owned by federalists, and the majority of the legislature were of the same party. The republicans accused them of using the funds of the bank for political purposes, so Aaron Burr devised a plan for the establishment of another bank.

The Manhattan bank fraud.—The city of New York had no good water supply. Yellow fever and other contagious diseases had visited the city, and had been properly attributed to the bad sanitary conditions.

Aaron Burr introduced a bill in the State legislature which provided \$2,000,000 to be used in the construction of a system of water works, "*and for any other purpose not inconsistent with the constitution*".

The bill looked innocent and was hurried through the legislature near the close of the session, few having any suspicion of its real import. Under the last clause of the act was established "the Manhattan State bank"—a most powerful rival to the bank already in existence. The water works were constructed, but were entirely insufficient for the use of the city. This measure aided in bringing to grief the ambitions of Aaron Burr.

The "French scare", 1798.—The administration of President John Adams was a stormy one. England and France were at war. John Jay's treaty with the former power had still further angered France. Genet was recalled by request of our government, and our minister to France, Mr. Pinckney, was dismissed by

the “directory”. War with France seemed imminent. Nowhere else did party spirit run so high as in New York*. Sympathy for France blinded the judgment of republicans to the real condition of affairs. Personal encounters between members of the opposing parties became common.

The aggressions of France on our merchantmen finally drove all to the support of the United States government. Washington was recalled from his retirement, and once more made commander-in-chief of the army. The New York legislature appropriated \$1,200,000 for the defence of New York and sustained Mr. Adams in his firm attitude toward France †.

In 1799 the directory was overthrown by Napoleon. The so-called republic of France ceased to be, and the war cloud for a time disappeared from our horizon.

Death of Washington, 1799.—Near the close of the eighteenth century, in the midst of the stirring events in which he had been so prominent, Washington died (December 14). The sorrow with which

* It was during this excitement that Mr. Adams persuaded Mr. Joseph Hopkinson to write the words of “Hail Columbia”, which were first sung to the air, “The President’s march”, in a Philadelphia theatre, and afterward upon the streets of New York. This did as much as anything to restore harmony. “Firm, united, let us be, Rallying ’round our liberty,” etc., etc. See Song Budget Music Series, Part III, pages 10, 11.

† When the United States was asked as the price of peace to pay France \$250,000, Mr. Pinckney made this historic answer: “Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute!”

the intelligence was everywhere received was soothed by the recollection of his distinguished services, which a grateful people now began to realize. A native of Virginia, he seemed a citizen of New York, for there had much of his public life been spent.

An era of progress.—Its position midway between the eastern and southern colonies, its magnificent harbor, its natural waterways opening far into the State, its fertile soil, the character of its early settlers, all guaranteed to New York a prosperous future. Lands could not be opened rapidly enough to accommodate the settlers that came hither. Men from all the New England colonies had at sometime served on New York's soil. These had carried home with them stories of its rich valleys and beautiful lakes. So there now came what was needed,—a wave of immigration from among the hardy settlers of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, bringing to the State their strong arms inured to toil, their enterprise, economy, and intelligence with their firm if somewhat narrow Puritan love for truth. They poured into all these valleys; they pushed up into the higher and rougher table lands which the Dutch had disregarded, and everywhere they took with them the church and the school, those twin children of free institutions.

From the interior, cargoes of wheat began to arrive at Albany; and instead of gewgaws for the Indians, utensils for the houses and farms of the settlers were sent out in return. Manufactures, which had been confined to the household, now began to utilize the abundant waterpower. Shipping had re-appeared at

New York. Trade between the colonies sprang up, and ship-loads of goods arrived from and departed to foreign ports.

Exports from New York rose from nothing to two and one-half millions in 1791, and to fourteen millions in 1800.

Post-roads were now established, and mails came and went with some degree of regularity. As by magic, newspapers appeared. In New York city Noah Webster, the great lexicographer then published the "Advertiser", and Samuel Loudon the "Packet", both ardent federalist journals. The republicans had "Greenfield's Journal", and the merchants the "Price Current". Albany boasted of three newspapers. Orange and Ulster counties each had two, and several other counties had one. Of news, these contained very little, for there was not for many years any means of gathering it.

These papers discussed in long essays, serious questions of religion and State, and scolded the government and its officers in articles which would now be thought very tedious.

The postage on a letter for not more than thirty miles was six cents; for sixty miles it was ten cents, and the rate increased to twenty-five cents for 450 miles. People objected to paying postage on newspapers, as they considered it as a "tax on knowledge".

Party names.—As early as 1789 the name "republican" was adopted by those anti-federalists who sympathized with the French revolutionists. The word "democratic" was added by the federalists as a term

of contempt, but was proudly adopted by the republicans and generally used thereafter.

SUMMARY

1. Elections of 1792.
2. Anti-federalists become republicans; Jacobins.
3. Citizen Genet.
4. The English treaty and Mr. Jay.
5. Bowling Green meeting; Abuse of Mr. Jay.
6. State finances; first comptroller; paper money.
7. First State banks.
8. Manhattan bank fraud.
9. French scare, 1798; origin of "Hail Columbia".
10. Progress; immigration.
11. Newspapers.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION OF 1801

Constitutional convention.—Before the end of Mr. Jay's second term as governor, it began to be apparent that the State constitution should be amended. Many defects had been discovered, but the chief objection made was to the "council of appointment". The democrats were now coming into power in the legislature, and the governor found himself hedged in by this "council". As the constitution made no provision for its own amendment, the legislature ordered a constitutional convention to be elected by the people. This met in October, 1801, and Aaron Burr was chosen as its president.

In this convention were DeWitt Clinton and Daniel D. Tompkins,—both future governors of the State. So dominated were the members by political influence, that not a single vote could be obtained for the abolition of that monstrosity, the "council of appointment". It was too useful as a part of the political machinery of the party in power. The only changes made in the fundamental law of the State were slight ones in regard to membership in the senate and assembly*. These were ratified by the people.

* The membership of the senate was then fixed at 32, and that of the assembly at 100, to be increased by two, yearly, until the number should be 150.

New York politics; George Clinton elected governor.—In 1801 the democrats were fully in power. They elected Ex-Governor George Clinton to the office of governor and sent his nephew, DeWitt Clinton, to the United States senate. Aaron Burr, now vice-president, was seeking promotion to the presidency. Between him and DeWitt Clinton sprang up such a rivalry that the whole power of the Clinton family was turned against Burr. The Livingstons, also, were alienated from him, and as Burr's friends asserted, were rewarded, through President Jefferson by the appointment of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston as minister to France*, and his brother Edward to the office of United States attorney for New York.

For the first time in our country's history the doctrine was enunciated that "the affairs of government should be managed by those who were in accord with the chiefs whom the people had elected."

To this no just objection could be raised, and were all politicians both wise and honest it would never descend to that kindred maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils."

In justice to the leaders of the majority, it should be said that they, with the best men of the State, had begun to distrust Burr, and had resolved to part company with him.

Burr's efforts to become governor; election of Morgan Lewis.—In his own State Burr's fortunes

* During his residence in France, Mr. Livingston was able to negotiate the treaty by which President Jefferson purchased Louisiana from Napoleon.



MORGAN LEWIS, 1754-1844
GOVERNOR, 1801-4

were on the wane. Through "The Citizen", the official organ of the Clintons and Livingstons, he was subjected to bitter attacks, and these were supported by the "Evening Post", a paper published in the interests of Hamilton. These charges were replied to in the "Morning Chronicle",

a paper founded to further Burr's interests.

The warfare was even carried into the legislature, and as a result Burr's friends were removed from positions of trust. The power of the Manhattan bank, which he had founded was turned against him, the opposition having secured a controlling interest in the stock. Burr could easily persuade himself that he was the victim of a plot intended to work his ruin.

His friends finally determined on a bold stroke, and in February, 1804, he was nominated for governor of New York. The opposition named Chief Justice Morgan Lewis, a relative of the Livingstons, and he was elected by a majority of 8,700 votes.

The Burr-Hamilton tragedy, 1804.—In the campaign against Burr, Alexander Hamilton was very active. At a private meeting of federalists, Hamilton, in speaking of the election, had said that "no reliance ought to be placed on Burr". The usual mischief-maker was present who soon repeated the remark as an attack on Burr's private character.

A prompt retraction was demanded by Burr, but

Hamilton's pride forbade a reply. A challenge followed, and in the duel which ensued, Hamilton fell*.

The excitement throughout the country was intense. The coroner's jury found Burr guilty of murder, and he fled from the State. For years he was a fugitive, engaged in most visionary schemes, the chief of which was to form a new republic from the States west of the Blue Ridge mountains†. For this he was arrested, brought to Washington (1807) and tried for treason. The verdict was "not proven" and Burr was once more free, though he lived thereafter in obscurity‡.

"The duel" which had even in New York become very common as a means of settling disputes, came into such ill-repute that, in the northern States, it practically became unknown.

Burr and Hamilton contrasted.—Among the many names of this period none are more prominent in the history of New York politics than those of Hamilton and Burr. Born within a year of each other,—Burr in New Hampshire in 1756, Hamilton in the West Indies in 1757,—their lives, in many respects ran parallel.

Burr was left an orphan at the age of three years, but was able to enter Princeton college and to gradu-

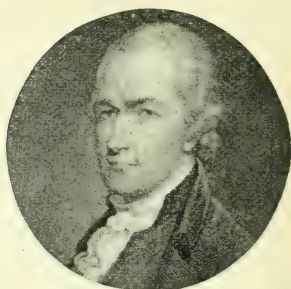
* The duel occurred near Weehauken, N. J., July 11, 1804. Hamilton had sat up all the previous night transacting necessary business, which included the making of his will. His wife knew nothing of the affair till he was brought home in a dying condition.

† Read "The Blennerhasset Affair".

‡ He went to England, but returned and died on Staten Island in 1836.



AARON BURR, 1756-1836



ALEXANDER HAMILTON, 1757-1804

ate at sixteen. Hamilton's father having failed in business when the son was but three years old, at the age of twelve the boy was put to work in a counting-house. Here his undoubted abilities attracted the attention of friends who sent him to Kings college, from which he was graduated at seventeen.

Both entered the patriot army in the same year, 1775. Burr entered as a private, but by his ability he soon rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel with a position as aide to the commander-in-chief, whose generalship he despised and whose strategy he uniformly condemned.

Hamilton entered the service with the rank of captain of artillery, became a colonel, and also served as aide to Washington, all of whose plans he seconded, and to whom he became a most efficient assistant.

Burr married the daughter of a British officer, and left the service in 1779; Hamilton married the daughter of General Schuyler, and served until peace was declared.

Both early entered politics, in which field they soon became rivals. Hamilton was a federalist, an ardent supporter of the new constitution, the author of sixty-three of the eighty-five now famous essays on the constitution, which make up the "Federalist".

Burr, at first in doubt, finally became an anti-federalist, and opposed the adoption of the constitution and every measure of Washington's administration.

Both were natural leaders of men; Hamilton, by his winning, persuasive manner; Burr by his imperious force of character. Hamilton was cheerful, courteous, friendly; Burr, saturnine, jealous, revengeful. In politics, both were ambitious and designing, but Hamilton's good humor won friends, while Burr's gloomy spirit repelled those who wished to be his friends.

Both men rose rapidly in the political field. In 1784, Burr was elected to the assembly and subsequently served as attorney-general of the State, as United States senator, and vice-president. Hamilton became Washington's secretary of the treasury, and when war with France threatened, was made major-general under Washington.

In a different measure both possessed the gift of oratory. Hamilton was brilliant; Burr was logical. The one was fascinating, the other forcible.

In private character, it is probable that Burr would to-day pass as the better man,—and that without ascribing to him all the virtues. The deed in which their life-long antagonisms culminated would have been entirely impossible in Hamilton, but was, in those times, the natural expression of Burr's character.

By the final tragedy of their lives, one became fixed in history as a disinterested patriot, while the memory of the other was consigned to lasting infamy.

SUMMARY

1. First revision of State constitution, 1801.
2. Political quarrels and maxims, 1801.
3. Burr for governor; his defeat.
4. The Burr-Hamilton tragedy; effect.

CHAPTER XL

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT

Elections. In 1804, Mr. Jefferson was re-elected president, and Ex-Governor George Clinton became vice-president in place of Burr.

The West Point military academy was founded in 1802, but in 1812 it was re-organized on a much broader plan. The grade was raised, and the number of cadets limited to 260*.

The first steamboats, 1807.—At the beginning of the present century three men were at work on the problem of steam navigation. These were John Cox Stephens in New York and Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton in Paris.

Stephens was an inventor. In 1812 he invented the first iron-clad ship. He studied the problem of railroads and suggested the construction of one from Albany to Lake Erie, long before the Erie canal was undertaken. He made the plans for the Camden and Amboy railroad, in New Jersey.

Robert R. Livingston in 1801 was minister of the United States to France. In Paris he became acquainted with Robert Fulton, an artist and inventor. The fact that both were working on the same problem drew them together, and they formed a co-partnership for the prosecution of their enterprise.

* The original fortifications at West Point were planned by Thaddeus Kosciusko. See page 269.

Livingston's influence made it possible for him to obtain from the legislature of New York, the exclusive right of steam navigation within the bounds of that State for twenty years, on condition that he should within one year move a boat of twenty tons by steam, at the rate of four miles an hour.

This he failed to do, but later, when he and Fulton had prosecuted their experiments somewhat farther, Livingston succeeded in getting this privilege extended for two years. Meantime Stephens had built the first steamer, the *Phoenix*, and was running it on the waters about New York.

Finally Robert Fulton launched his boat, the *Clermont*, on East River. It was 130 feet long and only 18 feet wide; it had a second deck at both stem and stern and was provided with mast and sails for use in case steam should fail.



ROBERT FULTON, 1765-1815

The wheels were 15 feet in diameter, with paddles which dipped in the water two feet.

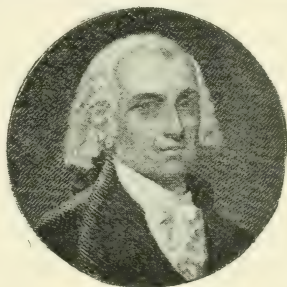
At one o'clock in the afternoon of August 7, 1807, the voyage was begun. The weight of the machinery nearly sank the craft, but she made the trip of 150 miles in *thirty-two hours*, and by the terms of the agreement had won the exclusive right for her builders to navigate the lakes and rivers of New York for twenty years.

The success of the undertaking is usually attributed to Robert Fulton. It is doubtful if it does not quite as much belong to Robert Livingston, while to John Cox Stephens certainly belongs the credit of being the first to navigate the waters of New York bay by steam*.

Daniel D. Tompkins, governor.—In 1807 the



DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, 1774-1825
GOVERNOR, 1807-1817



JAMES MADISON, 1751-1836
PRESIDENT, 1809-1817

democrats controlled the State and elected as governor Daniel D. Tompkins. He was a graduate of Columbia college; he had been a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1801, a member of the State legislature and a member of congress. He brought to the governor's chair exceptional abilities and filled the office continuously for ten years.

Madison and Clinton.—In New York the federalist

* By the monopoly secured by Livingston and Fulton the *Phoenix* was driven out of New York bay, but she went to the Delaware river and plied between Philadelphia and Trenton. Mr. Livingston is rarely mentioned in connection with "Fulton's steamboat". This is probably on account of his high political position.

party was thought to be dead. In its opposition to the infatuation of the democrats for everything that came from France, it had gone to the opposite extreme of complete "toadyism" to everything English. Its adherents had even disapproved of the custom of reading the Declaration of Independence on public occasions. On this account its support had rapidly drifted away, and in 1808 the country was easily carried for James Madison as president, while George Clinton was retained as vice-president.

National issues.—There was genuine cause for complaint against both France and England. In their almost chronic state of war, they entirely ignored the rights of the United States. By the restrictions which both placed upon commerce, American merchant ships were being driven from the seas. Mr. Jefferson's pet scheme of an "embargo"* on all commerce bore heavily upon New York. Two effects could be plainly seen: it gave an impetus to home manufactures, and it woke the old federalist party to vigorous life. As a result, in the elections of 1809 they captured the legislature, made a new council of appointment and turned the democrats out of office.

The "embargo" was repealed June 10th, 1809, and there was great rejoicing throughout the State. Business revived and politicians, for a time, had no great "national issues" with which to mislead the people.

The federalists defeated, 1810.—By the elections of 1810 the State government passed entirely into the hands of the democrats. True to their traditional

* See U. S. History.

policy, they formed a new council of appointment, and in a few months not one federalist office holder remained to tell of the victory of the preceding year.

Democratic quarrels, 1811.—Seldom have politicians been able to refrain from quarrelling over the spoils of office. DeWitt Clinton was now the rising leader among the democrats, and the death of John Broome, lieutenant-governor, furnished the occasion for a contention in that party.

DeWitt Clinton had at this period in his life a gift for doing the unexpected. In 1803, when he had but just reached the United States senate, he resigned his seat to become mayor of New York city; and now to the surprise of every one, he became a candidate for the office of lieutenant-governor, and received the regular democratic nomination. The "Tammany society"*, already a decided political power, nominated against him that gallant soldier, Colonel Marinus Willett, while the federalists put forward Colonel Nicholas Fish. The election was close; Clinton was elected by a small majority.

*"The Tammany society", or "Columbian order", as it was also called, was founded soon after the inauguration of Washington. It was then strictly a national society and its object, as stated was "to foster a true love for our country". Men of both political parties belonged to it. It took its name from the legendary Indian chief "Tammany", described by Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, founder of the New York Historical society. William Mooney was the first Grand Sachem. Gradually the society became a political factor, and in later years it has often controlled the elections in our State.

SUMMARY

1. Steamboats, 1807.
2. The federalist party; in 1708.
3. National issues in New York; the embargo.
4. Democratic quarrels.
5. Tammany society.

CHAPTER XLI

THE WAR OF 1812

Causes of the war.—Several causes united to bring on the war of 1812, or, as it is frequently called, “The Second War for Independence:”

1. Great Britain had never carried out all the agreements of the “Treaty of Paris”.

2. While the United States claimed that a man might transfer his allegiance and that “The Flag protects the Sailor”, England denied the right of “expatriation”, and held that a man “once a British sailor was always a British sailor”. Consequently, she claimed the right to stop merchantmen and even naval vessels of the United States anywhere on the high seas and search them for British sailors. This she frequently did, even in the ports of the United States.

3. Great Britain in common with France had placed restrictions on American commerce which practically shut it out of one-half the ports of the world. Either England or France would grant immunity to our merchant marine on terms that would involve us in war with the other power.

The federalists charged all our troubles on France, —the democrats on England. On account of her more extensive commerce, New York had felt these restrictions more than any other State and here the war feeling became strongest. The rallying cry in the late elections had been “*Free ships and sailors’ rights*”.

War declared against Great Britain.—At last when all honorable means for the preservation of peace had been exhausted, when 900 American ships had been seized and 2,000 sailors imprisoned, on June 19, 1812, a declaration of war against England was made. Strangely enough this was done before any steps had been taken to put the country into a state of defence. There were no army, no navy, and no money in the national treasury.

It was foreseen that New York would, as in preceding wars, be the State to suffer most, but there was a general feeling of relief and a universal rallying to the support of the government when war was an assured fact.

The State militia was at once organized. Stephen Van Rensselaer was made major-general and placed in command of a division; General William Mooers in command of a second; and General Henry Dearborn was to command the department*.

New York in the war of 1812.—War having been formally declared, New York entered at once upon her part in its prosecution. All the plans for an invasion of Canada had been formulated at Washington, but they were seriously disarranged by the defeat and surrender of General Hull at Detroit, August 16, 1812. This made it more certain that New York would become the chief field of operations.

On Lake Champlain, by which invasions and

* General Dearborn was a New Hampshire man. He had entered the patriot army at Lexington and served through the War of the Revolution.

counter-invasions had so frequently been made, was General Dearborn with 3,000 regulars and 2,000 militia. Two thousand more militia were on the St. Lawrence, extending to Sacketts Harbor, while at Buffalo were 6,000 volunteers.

The first engagement in New York was at Sackett's Harbor. Here Lieutenant Woolsey commanded a little brig, the *Oneida*, built for the revenue service. In July, 1812, the British appeared off the harbor with five small vessels. Woolsey anchored his little ship broad-side to the entrance, took out the guns in the other broad-side, and planted them in batteries on shore, with an old thirty-two-pounder, a relic of the Revolutionary War, which he excavated from the mud. With these he defeated the English squadron.



JACOB BROWN, 1775-1828

The second engagement was near Ogdensburg, Oct. 4, 1812, when 700 British attacked General Brown* and were repulsed.

Invasion of Canada, 1812.—On the 13th of October following, a force under Colonel Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara river and captured an English fort. On the American side were nearly one thousand militia who refused to go to the assistance of their comrades,

* General Jacob Brown was a school teacher, a surveyor, and a lawyer. He became Hamilton's secretary, a county judge, a general of militia, and finally commander-in-chief of the northern army.

even when Colonel Van Rensselaer, himself badly wounded, besought them in person. The little band was finally compelled to surrender to the increasing English force. Among those taken prisoners was Lieutenant Winfield Scott.

Late in November, a similar attempt at the invasion of Canada from Black Rock resulted in failure, and still another from Plattsburg, by General Dearborn, accomplished but little.

New York invaded, 1813.—A force of British regulars, Canadian militia and Indians, February 22, 1813, made an attack on Ogdensburg, which was held by Captain Forsyth with a small number of men. They took the forts, burned the storehouses and shipping, but retired after losing 100 killed and wounded, while Captain Forsyth escaped with a loss of only twenty.

Second invasion of Canada, 1813.—Commodore Chauncey, in April, took General Pike with 1,600 men across Lake Ontario and captured York (Toronto). In the action General Pike was killed, and the American losses were heavy, but a large amount of military stores was seized and much shipping was burned. With the rest, the state-house was burned, and this, later, was made the pretext for destroying the national buildings at Washington.

A month after, an expedition went to Niagara river where the British stronghold, Fort George, was taken, —the conquest occupying only three hours*.

* Oliver Hazard Perry, Winfield Scott, and Alexander Macomb took a prominent part in this achievement.

Attack on Sacketts Harbor.—To carry on these operations, the force at Sacketts Harbor had been weakened, and in May, 1813, General Prevost with 1,000 men, two ships and four schooners undertook its capture. The assault was made May 29, but through the courage of General Jacob Brown with his small force of resolute men, the British were driven in disorder to their vessels. General Prevost lost 150 of his men, while General Brown from his much smaller force, suffered a loss of 21 killed and 91 wounded.

This was the enemy's last attempt to capture Sacketts Harbor, and it remained, as it had been for years, the most important depot for army and navy stores on the frontier of New York.

In July, 1813, the State was invaded at Plattsburg and the barracks and stores there were burned.

Perry on Lake Erie.—It was early determined to make an effort to control Lake Erie. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry offered his services for this undertaking.



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY, 1785-1819

He built four vessels at Presque Isle, and Henry Eckford, the famous New York shipbuilder, re-constructed five merchantmen at Black Rock.

In the summer of 1813, Perry had on Lake Erie a fleet of nine small vessels,—two of which as he said, “were growing in the woods last spring.”

On September 10 Perry encountered the English fleet. In the engagement which followed he captured, according to his famous despatch to General Harrison, "two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop." He had taken the whole British fleet and obtained control of Lake Erie.

An attempt to invade Canada, 1813.—An invasion by way of Sacketts Harbor was undertaken in October, but in crossing Lake Ontario the fleet of transports encountered a storm and failed to effect a landing.

The force descended the St. Lawrence and retired to Lake Champlain. Near the lake, at Chrysler's Farm, an engagement occurred with little advantage to either side.

The winter of 1813-14 now suspended operations with very little accomplished, as yet with much to encourage the Americans. The months were spent by both parties in preparing for the spring's campaign.

Operations of 1814.—England was now released from European complications by the defeat of Napoleon, and 14,000 of Wellington's veterans were sent to Canada. It was determined to crush the small American army in one decisive campaign.

But spring found the American people more united and better prepared. Privateers had been fitted out to prey on British commerce, and additional vessels had been equipped on the lakes. In February the energetic General Brown was ready. Sir James Yeo, an English commander, appeared at Oswego in May. He made a landing and temporarily drove the

small garrison from the fort, but, after a loss of 235 men, he decided to retire to Canada.



WINFIELD SCOTT, 1786-1866

The main British army was under General Drummond on the Canadian bank of Niagara, and thither General Brown rapidly marched from Sacketts Harbor. With him, in command of brigades, were General Winfield Scott and General Ripley, a

small artillery and cavalry force, and 600 Indians under the famous chief Red Jacket*.

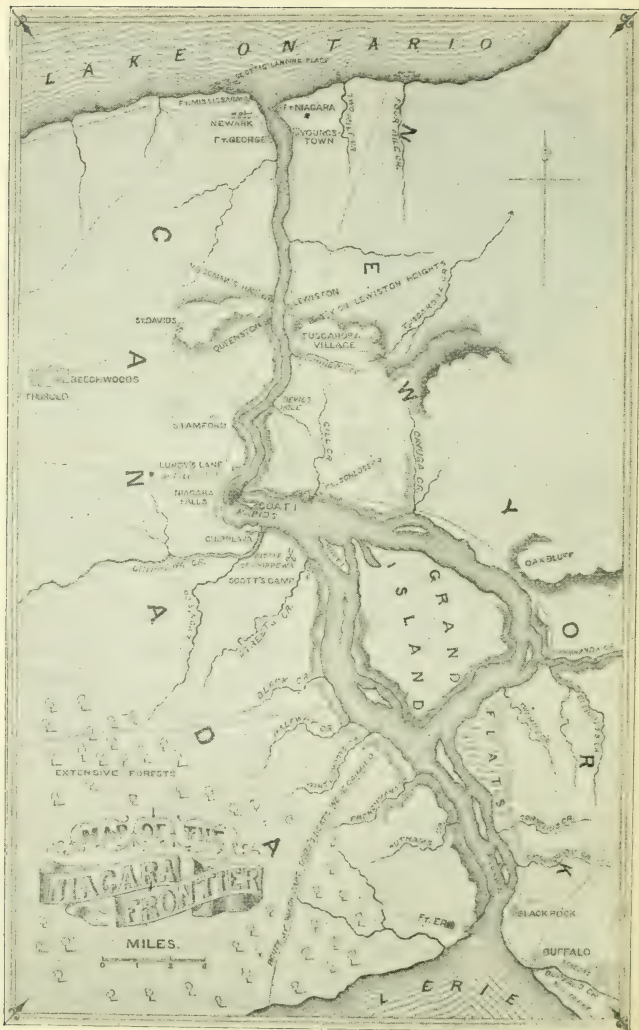
With this force General Brown was ordered to invade Canada. On the morning of July 3d, 1814, General Scott crossed the river before daylight and gained a foot-hold. This advantage was followed up by a larger force and Fort Erie was easily taken.

Then followed rapidly the battle of "Lundy's Lane", the British attempt to re-take Fort Erie, the battle of "Chippewa", in all of which the Americans were victorious, and operations in the west were practically closed.

Battle of Lake Champlain, 1814.—The scene now shifted to Lake Champlain. At Plattsburg were 1,500 regulars under General Alexander Macomb, while General Benjamin Mooers commanded the militia.

On the lake was captain Thomas Macdonough with

* This was the last military expedition in which the Indians of New York ever participated.



a small squadron,—his flagship, the *Saratoga*, one brig, two schooners and ten galleys.



ALEXANDER MACOMB, 1782-1841



THOMAS MACDONOUGH, 1783-1825

Macomb and Macdonough were soon put to the test. In September General Prevost with 14,000 English soldiers appeared in the vicinity of Plattsburg, and announced his intention to occupy and hold New York State, while, at the same time, the British squadron under Commodore DeWitt moved up the Sorel river into Lake Champlain.

The situation was extremely critical for the two American commanders. In sight of the two fleets preparing for battle, the land forces were soon engaged in their preliminary skirmish.

Macdonough, but thirty-one years of age, had the courage to prepare himself for the conflict by kneeling upon the deck of his flagship in sight of his men and praying for success.

With the first gun from the British fleet, Prevost also advanced with great confidence. Then occurred such a dual combat as has seldom been witnessed. The thunder of artillery on the lake answered to the volleys of musketry on shore.

When the smoke finally cleared, the British fleet had been destroyed, and the boaster, Prevost, was on the run for Canada. Two victories had been won, but at great cost. Macdonough's fleet was in ruins and he had lost a hundred men. Macomb had lost an equal number, but New York was cleared of the enemy and they did not return*.

Naval achievements.—Although we had met with some reverses on land, these were fully compensated for by the brilliant achievements of our impromptu navy. In 1813 England proclaimed a blockade of all our coast from Portsmouth to New Orleans but she was never less "Mistress of the Seas" than during that period. A fleet had been improvised, and, by the second year of the war, under Decatur and Stewart



STEPHEN DECATUR, 1779-1820



CHARLES STEWART, 1778-1869

* To the shame of certain of our countrymen of that time it must be said that, even while Macdonough and Macomb were preparing for this struggle, Prevost could write to England, "Were it not for the farmers of New York and Vermont, my army would starve. We are fed almost entirely by provisions drawn from these two States."

and Jacob Jones and David Porter was scouring all the seas and winning victories everywhere.

Fortification of New York, 1814.—Notwithstanding the activity of our small navy, British fleets were still able to lay waste the coast of New England, and the city of New York, wholly unprotected, became alarmed.

Mayor DeWitt Clinton issued a stirring address calling upon the citizens to aid in fortifying the town. General Joseph G. Swift of the engineer corps planned the works. A line of intrenchments ran across Long Island on the heights, now in the centre of Brooklyn. Another line extended to the mouth of the Harlem river, while forts and redoubts were to be constructed at all available points. All classes responded to the mayor's call. Men assembled at some favorite tavern or hall or wharf and marched in a body, with pick and shovel to "toil in the trenches". The churches, the clubs and the trades sent delegations. Literally, "the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker" went out by reliefs on set days. Professional men,—ministers, lawyers, doctors,—even teachers with their classes volunteered, until, in an incredibly short time, the works were furnished and New York city needed only guns, and men behind them, to be thoroughly protected. The guns were never placed and the men were never needed.

Fortunately the expected British fleet did not come. The ground of those old trenches is now the site of busy marts and elegant homes.

Close of the war.—The capture and burning of Washington, August 27, 1814, the attempt on Balti-

more, which failed, the bombardment of Fort Mc-Henry*, and the battle of New Orleans, fought after a treaty of peace had been signed, closed the land operations of this war.

Peace negotiations were going on, and a treaty was signed at Ghent, Belgium, December 24, 1814.

Results of the war.—Wars are of importance, chiefly, as the culmination of events. The difficulties which led to this second war with England had existed since the revolution. In reviewing those events, it seems singular that the questions which brought on the war were not settled by the Treaty of Ghent. They were not even mentioned in that treaty, hence it failed to secure either of the objects for which Americans fought. The outbreak of joy which swept over the country when the news reached America that the war was at an end, was soon tempered by disappointment over the fact that the great waste of blood and treasure had apparently brought no results.

A New York paper, "The Evening Post", in its Carriers' New Years address, printed these lines:

"Your commerce is wantonly lost,
Your treasures are wasted and gone;
You've fought to no end but with millions of cost,

* "It was during this exciting cannonade, September 14, 1814, that our national song 'The Star Spangled Banner' was written by Francis Scott Key, while anxiously pacing the deck of a British vessel whither he had gone, under a flag of truce, to solicit the release of certain prisoners."—*Mrs. Lamb*.

A monument to the memory of Key was unveiled at Frederick, Maryland, in 1898.

And for rivers of blood you've nothing to boast
But credit and nation undone."

But this was not true; good had come from the war. Not only Great Britain, but France, had learned that the United States were now a nation, strong, confident, able to maintain their rights on sea or land. There was little interference thereafter with American commerce. The State militia was now put on a better footing; the pay was increased; a law was passed to enlist 12,000 men, and also to raise a regiment of colored troops. In this regiment slaves, with the consent of their masters, might enlist, and when discharged were to be freed. The firm attitude of New York did much to strengthen the hands of President Madison in the midst of the difficulties of the war.

Cost of the war.—To New York the cost of the war had been greater than to any other State. Besides her share in the national expense, New York had put into the field 40,000 militia. She had sent out 26 privateers carrying 212 guns and 2,239 men, and when the nation's resources had been exhausted, Governor Tompkins had endorsed \$500,000 in government notes to replenish the empty national treasury.

Again all New York's frontiers from Buffalo to Lake Champlain had been desolated by the fortunes of war, and so great was the consequent suffering that many people in those districts were dependent on State aid for support. Yet in the midst of all this, New York had gone forward with her appropriations for schools and colleges and charitable institutions, confident in her own future resources and in the growing power of the republic.

SUMMARY

1. Causes of the war of 1812.
2. War declared.
3. New York the field of operations.
4. Sacketts Harbor, 1812.
5. New York invaded, 1813.
6. Second attack on Sacketts Harbor.
7. Perry on Lake Erie.
8. The war on western frontier.
9. Battle on Lake Champlain, and at Plattsburg.
10. Naval achievements.
11. Fortification of New York city.
12. New Orleans and the Peace of Ghent.
13. Results of war; financial and real.
14. Cost of the war.

PERIOD IX

NEW YORK IN TIMES OF PEACE

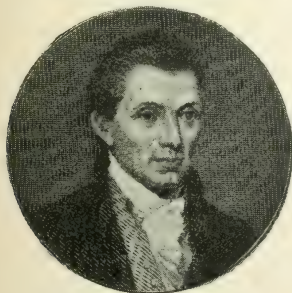
CHAPTER XLII

THE ERIE CANAL

Changes in administration.—From the days of Peter Minuit, New York had known only brief intervals of respite from war. She was now to enter upon a long era of peace, in which to develop her resources and foster those arts which have become her greatest pride.

At the beginning of the second struggle with Great Britain, on the 20th of April, 1812, Vice-President George Clinton had died at Washington after a continuous public service of more than forty years.

Governor Tompkins having served from 1807 to 1817 resigned the governor's chair to take the office of vice-president under Mr. Monroe, who had in that year (1817) succeeded Mr. Madison as president.



JAMES MONROE, 1758-1831
PRESIDENT, 1817-25

One of the last acts of Mr. Tompkins's long and successful administration was his recommendation to the legislature of a plan for the

final extinction of slavery in the State of New York. The bill was passed without a dissenting vote*.

DeWitt Clinton, governor, 1817.—By his abilities



DEWITT CLINTON, 1769-1728

GOVERNOR, 1817-22, 1825-28

and varied experience in public affairs, DeWitt Clinton had become fully qualified for the office to which he was called by a special election and in which he was retained for three successive terms.

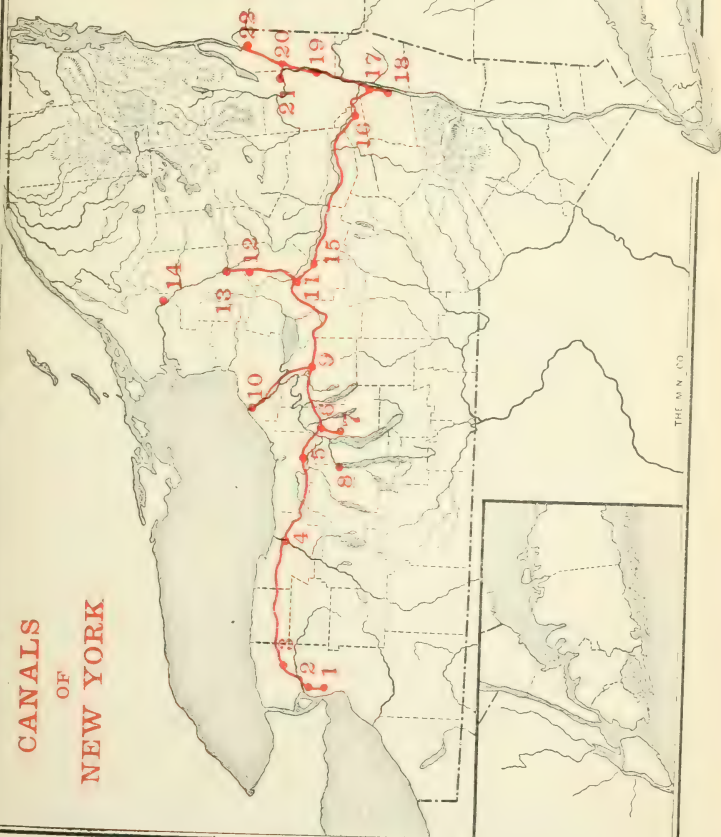
The chief questions at issue pertained to the canal which had been authorized by the legislature in the preceding year. Mr. Clinton had long been the leader of the canal party, and it was largely through his influence that the great enterprise had been undertaken.

Governor Tompkins, if not an opponent of the canal had been but a half-hearted advocate of it, and in his last message to the legislature he did not in any way refer to the subject. Mr. Clinton, as governor, was in a position to promote the great undertaking, and its construction was the chief event of his administration.

The Erie canal.—In the first quarter of the century much of the State was practically valueless for the want of available markets. Lumber was rafted down the streams to tide-water, and grain was carried in cheap boats called “arks”, but the expense was heavy

* In securing the passage of this bill he was materially assisted by Caldwellader D. Colden, a grandson of Governor Colden of colonial times.

CANALS OF NEW YORK



and often the grain spoiled on the way. Butter, wool, and other products were frequently hauled two hundred or even three hundred miles over the rough roads to Albany or New York, and the expense of this long journey left very small margins for the producer.

Until the Erie canal was completed the common route west was from Albany* (18) 15 miles over a passable turnpike to Schenectady (16); thence by boat up the Mohawk to Little Falls. The boat was flat-bottomed and was pushed up stream with poles; on it from three to ten tons could be carried. Around the drop at Little Falls a canal with eight locks had been built. From this place to Utica (15), then a thriving town, was a good channel. At Utica a part of the goods went to Rome (11), then through the small canal to Wood Creek, and thence through Oneida lake and the Onondaga river to Seneca river and Salt lake, where stood the town of Salina (Syracuse 9).

By way of the Oswego river and Lake Ontario freight and passengers could go to Lewiston and thence to Niagara and the west, or overland from Erie, Pa., to the headwaters of the Allegany and by water again to Pittsburg.

It is probable that the grand conception of uniting Lake Erie with the Hudson by one continuous waterway originated in the mind of Gouverneur Morris†.

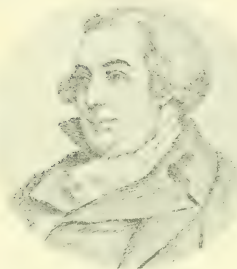
In 1803 he submitted a plan in outline for the Erie

*See Map on opposite page.

† Gouverneur Morris was a graduate of King's college. He was the associate of Robert Morris and was the "literary" author of the United States constitution.

canal to the State surveyor-general, who pronounced it impracticable*.

In 1808 the legislature appropriated \$600 for a survey of the route. DeWitt Clinton and Stephen Van Rensselaer became interested in the plan and in 1811 an act was passed providing for the "Improvement of the internal navigation of the State". Clinton and Van Rensselaer, in December of that year, went before congress and sought national



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, 1752-1816

aid. They failed, doubtless for the reason that many other States were seeking assistance for similar enterprises.

The matter had now gone so far that in June, 1812, the legislature authorized the commissioners to borrow \$6,000,000 for the work on the credit of the State, but war with England breaking out in that year, the act was repealed and the enterprise postponed.

The next step was taken in the autumn of 1816 when meetings were held in New York and in Canandaigua for the promotion of the canal project.

The legislature soon after appointed a board of canal commissioners and appropriated \$20,000 for necessary surveys. In March of the following year (1817) the

* Mr. Morris's plan was for a canal with a uniform declivity from Lake Erie to the Hudson. Jesse Hawley, a prominent New York citizen wrote a series of essays in its favor.

board reported. Opposition came from nearly every quarter, but good common-sense finally prevailed, and on April 17 a bill was passed which assured the success of the undertaking.

Completion of the canal.—Within three months work had begun and in the autumn of 1825 the canal was so far completed that on Oct. 26 the waters of Lake Erie were admitted and the first fleet of boats left Buffalo for New York.

There was no telegraph to announce the event, but the news reached New York in one hour and twenty minutes by the successive discharges of cannon placed along the canal and Hudson river.

The first fleet.—The departure of the fleet from Buffalo was made the occasion of a grand celebration. It was led by the barge "*The Seneca Chief*", which was gaily decorated and carried a very distinguished party, among whom were Governor DeWitt Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor Tallmadge, General Stephen Van Rensselaer, and many invited guests. The passage of the flotilla through the State was an event of intense interest. Crowds greeted it at every hamlet and town. At Albany and New York bells were rung, cannon thundered and parades filled the streets.

Medals were struck, bearing on one side the images of Pan and Neptune, with the words "Union of Erie with Atlantic"; on the reverse side were the arms of the State and the words "Erie canal—commenced July 4, 1817; completed October 26, 1825".

The route.—Nature had provided the route. The waters of Lake Erie are 573 feet above tide-water.

The supply of water was abundant and constant. There were no great engineering difficulties; the distance alone made it seem formidable. A large portion of the route lay along the Mohawk river, the level country about the central lakes, and the ancient shore of Lake Ontario,—the old Indian trail from the Hudson to the Niagara.

Opposition to the canal.—In the southern portion of the State, especially in those counties then just beginning to be factors in public affairs, there was much opposition to the canal. It was called, in ridicule, “The big ditch”, “Clinton’s ditch”, the “Conception of lunatics”. It was condemned as a plan to tax the whole State for the benefit of New York and Albany. Men said it would be the financial ruin of the State.

President Madison said its cost would exceed the revenues of the whole nation. Rufus King prophesied it would bankrupt the State, and one orator declared that “in future years” it would be “watered with the tears of posterity”. It required a sublime faith in the future of the State to carry forward the work in the face of such opposition and ridicule.

The lateral canals.—When the main canal was nearing its completion, Governor Clinton proposed and the legislature authorized the construction of numerous branches which should reach other sections of the State,—particularly those portions from which the chief opposition had come.

The following were planned and begun: the Lake Champlain, the Oswego, the Cayuga and Seneca, the

Crooked lake, the Chemung, the Chenango, the Black river, and the Oneida canals, while State aid was also given to the Delaware and Hudson canal *.

Advantages of the canal.—The cost of the canal, nine millions, seemed then a vast sum, but its completion easily added four times that amount to the value of the real estate of New York. Remembering that there was not then, nor for many years thereafter, a railroad in the country, estimate if possible the importance of an assured water-route from Buffalo to New York city,—from Lake Erie to the Atlantic,—with lateral canals penetrating to almost every part of the State.

Its completion created towns where none had existed. It brought within reach of sea-board markets whole counties from which hardly a wagon-load of produce had ever been carried. In any town or settlement of the State a bushel of wheat, a barrel of pork, a firkin of butter had now a market value; and in return for these the wares of eastern manufacturers began to find their way into the most distant settlements.

SUMMARY

1. Death of Governor (vice-president) George Clinton, 1812.
2. Last act of Governor Tompkins's administration.
3. Governor DeWitt Clinton, and Erie canal.
4. Transportation; difficulties, and need of better means.
5. Origin of Erie canal.

* Most of these canals are now abandoned.

6. First steps toward and interruption of.
7. Progress of plans and final construction.
8. First fleet and celebration.
9. The route.
10. Opposition to canal.
11. The lateral canals.
12. Advantages derived from.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE STATE CONSTITUTION OF 1821

Population of New York in 1820.—The population of the State had now risen to 1,400,000, of whom 40,000 were colored, and 10,000 of these were slaves. This was an increase of 413,000 in ten years, largely due to the fact that a great proportion of the immigrants entered at New York city and consequently remained in the State. These, for the most part, made desirable citizens.

The prisons.—Not all the conditions in New York State were favorable. Among the relics of a by-gone age, imprisonment for debt still remained.

In New York city alone, 1,984 debtors were imprisoned in the year 1817, and more than 1,000 of these for debts under the sum of fifty dollars. Nor was this all. The condition of the prisons everywhere was shocking to the last degree. A committee from the Humane Society found, among other evils, seventy-two women, sentenced for all sorts of crimes, confined in one room. The condition of the men's department was even worse. Sometimes the doors closed on a man and he was forgotten,—remaining a prisoner for years.

The governor once reported that the prisons *were so full he had been obliged to pardon some of the oldest offenders to make room for others* *. Nor were these conditions

* See McMaster, Vol. IV.

exceptional. They existed everywhere. At that time the "Humane Societies" were beginning to seek means for prison reform*.

Origin of the Mormons.—In the year 1819, there lived in the town of Manchester, Ontario county, one Joseph Smith who early in life began to exhibit peculiar traits of character. His education was meagre; he was visionary, fanatical in religious matters, and of not untarnished moral reputation. When about eighteen, he claimed to have supernatural visions and angel visitors. One of these visitors, according to his account, told him where were buried certain ancient records of the original inhabitants of America, with their principles of government. They were to be found near the top of a hill now known as Mormon Hill†, in the town of Palmyra. These records Smith finally obtained and translated into poor English.

This Book of Mormon was first published in Palmyra in 1830, and in that vicinity the first converts to the new faith were made.

There have been doubters who claimed that the Book of Mormon was written by one Solomon Spaulding of Cherry Valley, and that it was stolen and copied by Sidney Rigdon, a printer and convert. The original "Book" has been considerably improved upon since its first appearance.

The story of the emigration of the Mormons to Ohio, to Nauvoo, Illinois, their persecutions, and their subse-

* The act abolishing imprisonment for debt was passed by the legislature of New York April 26, 1831.

† For picture of Mormon Hill, see Bardeen's Geography of the Empire State, page 79.

quent removal to Utah, where they have several times threatened to disturb the peace of the republic,—all within the memory of men still living,—reads like a fanciful tale.

New York politics in 1820.—A new element, led by the “Tammany society”, now entered into politics and attempted to defeat the re-election of Governor DeWitt Clinton. They were called “Bucktails”*. Their leader was Martin Van Buren and their professed object was to save the State from the “certain bankruptcy” into which Mr. Clinton was leading it.

The new party issued an address calling themselves ex-federalists, stating that the federalist party being now defunct, they proposed to join the great “democratic party”. This was signed by fifty well-known opponents of Mr. Clinton, and they put in nomination for governor, Daniel D. Tompkins, then vice-president. The vote was large,—Mr. Clinton receiving 47,447 votes; Mr. Tompkins 45,990.

When great interests are at stake, when any danger threatens State or nation, the American people prove their loyalty to honest measures and constitutional government. At other times they often seem merely to play at a game which they call “politics”.

Government interference in State politics, 1821.—In his message to the legislature (1821) Governor Clinton urged a change in the State constitution, which would take the choice of presidential electors from the legislature and give it to the people, while at

* So called from their wearing, in processions, etc., the tail of a deer in their hats.

the same time he vigorously denounced the use of federal patronage to influence State elections.

The charge brought a storm of wrath from the men who had been engaged in this practice. They, in turn, charged Mr. Clinton with attempting "to sever the relations of allegiance and good feeling between the general government and the State of New York".

Mr. Clinton replied by producing a mass of evidence, including a letter from Mr. Van Buren, asking for the removal of certain postmasters "to alarm the Clintonians in office". The legislature responded by electing Van Buren to the United States Senate, thereby defeating the governor's proposition. They did, however, allow a convention to revise the old constitution made in 1777.

Constitutional revision of 1821.—A special election for delegates to a constitutional convention was held in April, 1821, and in the following August those delegates assembled at the capitol in Albany. This convention was in session until November, and was presided over by Daniel D. Tompkins.

The first constitution had been an experiment, and many of its defects were now plainly seen. Its framers had intended to lay a broad foundation in a constitution which should secure to every citizen all the rights to which, as a citizen, he was entitled; yet they had been so warned of the dangers that lurked under a free ballot that they hedged in the privileges of the elective franchise by so many safe-guards as practically to deprive many citizens of its benefits. To vote for governor, lieutenant-governor, or senators, a man must be a freeholder to the value of £100, above all debts

charged thereon. To vote for members of assembly, he must own a freehold of £20 or pay an annual rent of forty shillings; yet persons who were freemen in the cities of Albany and New York could vote for members of assembly without property qualifications.

Changes by the revision.—1. The constitution of 1821 extended the franchise to all white male citizens, of the age of 21 years who had paid taxes within the year or were exempt from taxation; but colored persons were not allowed to vote unless they possessed a freehold worth \$250 above all debts and incumbrances thereon.

2. The council of revision was abolished and its powers were transferred to the governor.

3. The council of appointment, which had become a gigantic institution,—in 1821 controlling 6,000 appointments in the civil list and 8,000 in the military,—was abolished, and its powers divided between the governor and senate and the two houses in joint session.

4. The entire judiciary of the State was made appointive, even to justices of the peace.

5. The establishment of new lotteries was prohibited, and those in existence* were regulated and their extinction provided for.

6. The time of holding general elections was changed from April to November.

7. Provision was made for a constitutional revision once in twenty years, and for amendments to the constitution at any time by a two-thirds vote of the legislature, after which all amendments were to be submitted to the people.

* For the benefit of schools.

8. The term of the governor's office was changed from three to two years.

These amendments were ratified February, 1822.

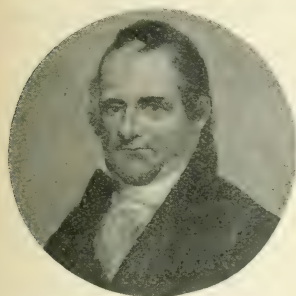
The Albany regency.—At the time of the adoption of the new constitution in 1822, the politics of New York came into the hands of a group of men, who on account of their almost absolute control of State affairs were known as "the Albany regency". Of this combination Mr. Van Buren was the recognized leader. Among its members were William L. Marcy, State comptroller, Samuel L. Talcott, attorney-general, Benjamin Knowler, treasurer, and Edwin Crosswell of the "Argus", State printer.

To this powerful combination should be added, Silas Wright, Azariah C. Flagg, John A. Dix, James Porter, Thomas W. Olcott, and Charles E. Dudley. It is probable that no party in this country ever had a more powerful leadership.

Governor Clinton became entirely powerless in the face of such a combination, and at the end of his term, 1822, by the advice of his friends he declined a re-nomination.

New York under the revised constitution.—In 1822 the first November election occurred. This was during Mr. Monroe's second term as president,—the period so often referred to as "the era of good feeling". After years of war and waste, times were improving and everywhere the people were inclined to give the general government a fair chance. Old parties and party lines had nearly disappeared. Federalists and anti-federalists, republicans, democrats, Clintonians,

and bucktails laid aside their differences and united in



JOSEPH C. YATES, 1768-1837
GOVERNOR, 1823-24

electing Joseph C. Yates governor. At the meeting of the legislature in 1823 the State government was organized under the new constitution. John Savage was made chief-justice of the supreme court; Nathan Sanford was appointed chancellor; J. Van Ness Yates, secretary of state; W. L.

Marcy, comptroller; S. A. Tallcott, attorney-general; and Simeon DeWitt, surveyor-general*.

People's party.—The question of submitting the choice of presidential electors to the people was the leading issue in the November elections of 1823. The refusal of the legislature to give this power to the people resulted in the formation of the "people's party", which in 1824, succeeded in carrying a number of the counties.

This legislature removed DeWitt Clinton from the office of canal commissioner, an act so evidently partisan that it caused great indignation throughout the State.

The result was his re-nomination and triumphant election in the following year (1824) to the office of governor,—a just recognition of his services to his State and country.

* This office Mr. DeWitt held nearly fifty years. To him the State is indebted for the long list of classical names given to its interior towns.

Visit of Lafayette, 1824.—The year 1824 is memorable for the visit of the illustrious Lafayette to our State and country. He came by invitation of the United States government, and landed in New York city Aug. 15 amid the ringing of bells, the salutes of artillery and the shouts of the people.

In his course through the State he was everywhere received with manifestations of affection, and on his departure from the country a magnificent ovation was again given him in the metropolis.

Questions settled.—Among the matters brought to a successful issue by Governor Clinton during his last term of office were the following.

The people were at last allowed by ballot to select their own method of choosing presidential electors. They voted (1825) in favor of the "district plan", one elector from each congressional district, the men thus selected choosing two additional electors. By this means, the vote of the State would very naturally be divided, as it was, subsequently, in 1828.

In the next year, 1826, two other questions were submitted to the people.

1. A proposition to allow justices of the peace to be chosen by the towns in which they served. Against this, only 1,663 votes were cast in the whole State.

2. The extension of the elective franchise, by removing all property qualifications, except the one of \$250 required for colored voters. This was also carried by a large majority.

SUMMARY

1. Reasons for rapid growth of population, 1820.

2. Early prisons; conditions of; efforts for improvement.

3. New York politics in 1820.

4. First government interference with State politics.

5. Constitutional revision of 1821; changes made.

6. The "Albany regency"; leaders; power of.

7. A quiet election, 1822; reasons for.

8. The people's party; origin.

9. War on Mr. Clinton, 1823; result of, 1824.

10. Visit of Lafayette, 1824.

11. Presidential electors; methods of choosing, 1826.

12. Justices of the peace and elective franchise, 1826.

CHAPTER XLIV

POLITICAL PARTIES

“The Morgan affair”.—There was living in Batavia, in 1826, one William Morgan, a Free Mason, who on account of some personal difficulty announced his intention to publish a pamphlet exposing the secrets of free-masonry.

Many contradictory stories of what followed have been reported; the exact facts will probably never be known.

It is told that he was arrested on a charge of larceny made by the master of a masonic lodge; but on trial was pronounced “not guilty” and was discharged, to be immediately imprisoned for debt at Canandaigua.

From that jail he disappeared. Masons were charged with abducting and drowning him in Niagara river.

Thurlow Weed, then an editor in Rochester, undertook to fasten the crime on the masons.



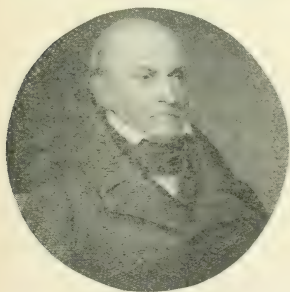
THURLOW WEED. 1797-1882

A body was found in the river which was claimed to be that of Morgan, and Weed was accused of mutilating this to make it resemble the abducted man. The crime was then charged to the anti-masons.

The affair took a political

turn, and spread to other States. The anti-masonic movement was led by some of the most aspiring political men of the time.

New York and national politics.—Never in the history of the country were politics more complicated than in the campaign of 1824. Governor Clinton was at the height of his popularity, and was New York's choice for the presidency, but he declined to consider the nomination. There were five candidates in the field. The vote of New York was divided—thirty of her electors voting for General Jackson, and sixteen



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1769-1848
PRESIDENT, 1825-29



ANDREW JACKSON, 1767-1845
PRESIDENT, 1829-37

for John Quincy Adams. The electoral college failing to make a choice, the election went to the house of representatives, and Mr. Adams was declared president.

Death of Daniel D. Tompkins, 1825.—Daniel D. Tompkins had served his State and country long and well, but his last days were clouded with suspicion. During his administration, while the finances of both State and nation were being taxed to their utmost, Governor Tompkins had taken grave responsibilities which his enemies used to his injury.

Broken in health and spirit, and charged with being a debtor to the State in the sum of more than \$100,000, he died June 11, 1825.

Posterity has been more just to him than his contemporaries. Years after his death it was found that the State was debtor to him for \$92,000. Justice came late, but it exonerated the memory of a man who in life was the victim of unrelenting partisan hate.

Death of DeWitt Clinton.—DeWitt Clinton was for the last time elected governor in 1826. The wisdom of his policy of internal improvements had been fully demonstrated; his bitterest enemies conceded his ability. In the second year of his term, in his own home, surrounded by his family he died, February 11, 1828, without an hour's illness.

The voice of criticism was hushed. Men reviewed his life, recognized its worth and mourned his loss.

The purity of his private character was never questioned, and after his long term of 33 years in the public service, at the very summit of his popularity, he died poor. The State, in recognition of his worth and distinguished public service provided for his minor children by voting to them \$8,000,—the salary for the time their father had served as canal commissioner without pay.

It has often been said that DeWitt Clinton loved New York as no other man ever loved it. His critics are already forgotten, but the passage of the years has only added fresh lustre to his name.

The remainder of Mr. Clinton's term was filled by Lieutenant-Governor Pitcher.

Martin Van Buren, governor; Andrew Jackson, president, 1828.—



MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1782-1862

GOVERNOR, 1828-29

PRESIDENT, 1837-41

Again occurred at the same time, the election of governor of New York and president of the United States. Martin Van Buren was at this time the most skilful political leader in the State, and he threw the whole weight of his influence for General Jackson,—the hero of New Orleans—carried

New York for him, and was himself elected governor.

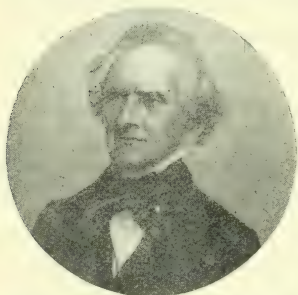
In his first message to the legislature (1829) Governor Van Buren advised the establishment of a safety-fund for the redemption of notes of the State banks, and liberal appropriations for education.

He also proposed a change in the method of choosing presidential electors. The district plan of 1825 had proved unsatisfactory. By act of legislature passed April 15, 1829, the present system,—by one general State ticket,—was adopted.

State banks; the safety fund.—The banks of the State, until the passage of the free-banking law of 1838, were part of a gigantic monopoly. No charters could be granted except by a vote of two-thirds of both houses of the legislature. The State banks were very profitable, and the stock was distributed to political favorites as a reward for services rendered.

By recommendation of Governor Van Buren the legislature established a safety fund, each bank contributing a percentage as a guarantee of the redemption of the notes of all.

Though the system was by no means perfect, to this law was largely due the fact that bills of New York State banks were for a number of years preferred to those from any other State.



ENOS THOMPSON THROOP, 1784-1874
GOVERNOR, 1829-33

In March, 1829, Mr. Van Buren accepted the position of secretary of state, under President Jackson. Lieutenant-Governor Throop assumed the office of governor, and was elected to that office in 1830.

Silas Wright, Thurlow Weed, William H. Seward.—Three men who were destined to exert a wide influence on the affairs of New York came into prominence at this time. Silas Wright was born in Massachusetts in 1795; Thurlow Weed in New York in 1797; and William H. Seward in New York in 1801.

This trio of sagacious, far-seeing politicians had much to do with New York history in the next thirty years; Mr. Wright as a financier, Mr. Weed as a journalist, Mr. Seward as a public speaker and statesman.

The workingmen's party.—Until 1830 New York city had really governed the State, but now the rapid growth of the interior towns began to demand recogni-

tion in politics, and those in public affairs were learning that they could not reckon without the people in the smaller towns and rural districts.

A "workingmen's party" was now formed, which in its platform declared that the laboring people did not receive their share of public offices. Politicians flocked into this new party and soon controlled it. Manufacturers and farmers demanded recognition. Congress was asked to protect certain industries by sufficient duties on imports. New York had become an agricultural State, and slavery was everywhere regarded as an enemy of free labor.

The anti-slavery feeling was growing, and so gradually one question after another crept in to disturb what had become known as "Knickerbocker rule" in the State.

The whig party had its birth in New York in 1832. James Watson Webb, editor of the "New York Courier and Enquirer", while in attendance upon the anti-masonic convention which nominated William Wirt for president, in a letter to his paper proposed the union of all President Jackson's opponents. He claimed that the president was guilty of every sort of usurpation, and speaking of Jackson's supporters said, "They are tories; we, therefore, who oppose him are whigs"* . For many years the name was used to designate the opposition to the democratic party.

* A reference to English politics during the American revolution.

William L. Marcy, governor.—In 1832 William



WILLIAM LEARNED MARCY. 1786-1857
GOVERNOR, 1833-39

L. Marcy resigned his seat in the United States senate, to become governor of New York*. He was a man of wide education, experienced in public affairs, and eminent in his profession as a lawyer. He was twice re-elected to the office of governor.

With New York's "favorite son" in President Jackson's cabinet, and Mr. Marcy governor, it was evident that the State would be "kept in line" for Jackson in his fight already begun against the United States bank.

This was made doubly certain, when in 1831, Mr.



HENRY CLAY. 1777-1852

Van Buren having been appointed Minister to England during the summer recess, and having gone properly accredited to the Court of St. James, the senate, under the leadership of Henry Clay, refused to confirm him.

When Mr. Van Buren returned to his home a private citizen, by the "malice" of the whig majority the United States senate, a wave of indignation swept

* His place in the senate was filled by Silas Wright.

over the State. Indeed, no more impolitic course could have been taken. Mr. Van Buren's friends carried the State for Jackson in 1832, and triumphantly elected their "favorite" to the presidency four years later.

SUMMARY

1. "Morgan affair", 1826.
2. New York politics, 1824.
3. Death of Governor Tompkins, 1825.
4. Death of Governor DeWitt Clinton, 1828; his character and services.
5. Martin Van Buren governor, 1828; bank plans.
6. Nature of early banks.
7. Silas Wright, Thurlow Weed, William H. Seward.
8. New parties, workingmen's; whigs, tories.
9. Knickerbocker rule in the State.
10. Mr. Van Buren minister to England; his rejection and the result.

CHAPTER XLV

THE PANIC OF 1837

The United States bank.—This institution was founded with a capital of 35 millions, and it held a deposit of public funds to the amount of 7 millions.

Its circulation was 12 millions and its annual discounts amounted to 40 millions. Its charter would expire in 1836 and its renewal had been requested. New York instructed her representatives to vote against this. The bill passed, but was vetoed by President Jackson. The ground of his attack on the bank was variously stated. His friends said it was a political machine and was “unsound”; his enemies insisted that his opposition grew out of a personal quarrel.

The president determined to abolish the bank but he first secured an investigation into its affairs. The house of representatives expressed its confidence in the bank by a vote of 109 to 46.

There was a peculiar provision of law requiring that the United States funds should be deposited in this bank “*unless the secretary of the treasury should otherwise determine*”.

The president placed William Duane of Philadelphia in the treasury department for the purpose of diverting the deposits to other institutions. Duane refused to do as he was expected; he was therefore removed, and Roger B. Taney was transferred from the attorney-

general's office to that of secretary of the treasury. He ordered the removal of the funds. By this arrangement, *all payments were made from the bank, but all deposits were made elsewhere* in certain selected State banks, thereafter known as "*Pet banks*". By this means the funds were soon all removed from the United States bank*.

United States deposit fund, 1832.—The United States had now no debt, and the revenues were in excess of expenses. The question was, what shall be done with the surplus?

In June, 1836, a bill passed congress by which the surplus was to be divided among the several States in proportion to their representation in congress.

The amount to be divided was \$37,468,859.97; New York's portion was \$4,014,520.71. This was considered in the light of a deposit fund, and New York has always so regarded her share. It has been kept inviolate, it has been loaned out by commissioners appointed for that purpose, and the income therefrom has been annually applied to school purposes. It appears in our reports as the "United States Deposit Fund". In many States it has through bad investments been entirely lost.

The newspaper period.—The years from 1830 to 1835 may properly be called the "newspaper period",

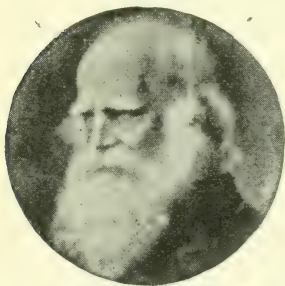
* About this time some copper medals were struck off representing on one side a donkey with an iron-bound safe marked "U. S. Bank" on his back, driven by Andrew Jackson with a club. On the reverse side was the legend "U. S. Bank Veto", with the date. These medals are now very rare.

as it was in these years they made their greatest development, and came into prominence as political factors.

Until this time newspapers did not search for news; they waited for news to come to them. Now came in the "reporter", who sought news. Swift sailing sloops and schooners went out to meet incoming ships, and news from the old world was frequently in print before the ships had anchored in the bay*.

This was no doubt due to the class of men then at the head of metropolitan journals, and also to the increased demand for news on account of the establishment of post offices and mail routes.

The Evening Post was then published by William Cullen Bryant and William Leggett. James Watson Webb began publishing the Morning Courier and Enquirer in 1830. Benjamin H. Day issued the first number of the Sun in 1833. The Albany Evening Journal was established by Bryant in



WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. 1794-1878 1830, and James Gordon Bennett began publishing the Herald in 1835. The Spirit of the Times, the first sporting paper, was published in 1831, and the Staats Zeitung in 1834†.

* The first newspaper to intercept incoming packets for this purpose, was the New York Journal of Commerce in 1830.

† The New York Associated Press was organized in 1849, and newspapers were first stereotyped in 1857.

The period of riots.—The years 1830 to 1835 were also notable for the disturbances caused by the disorderly elements in New York city. Police protection was then entirely insufficient. The naturalization laws were defective and almost any foreigner could become a full-fledged citizen on short notice.

Such voters could easily be used by demagogues to control elections, and in time they became an element very difficult to manage. Elections were then held for three days. Mobs of these “citizens” invaded committee rooms and voting places, tore down banners and election notices, and terrorized the officers of the law. They even threatened the newspapers that dared to condemn their acts, and once marched to the office of the *Courier and Enquirer* on Wall street with the intent to demolish it. There they found a determined man, Colonel Webb, in command of a well-organized body of employes, prepared to defend the place. Their discretion proving better than their valor, the mob retired. They were not entirely quelled until the mayor called out the “National Guard” (7th regiment) when they dispersed.

The great fire, 1835.—On Dec. 16, 1835, the city of New York was visited by its most disastrous fire. In a few hours, property to the value of 20 millions was laid in ashes. The night was bitterly cold, the water supply insufficient, the fire apparatus antiquated. Ice froze in the pipes; the hose was useless. A violent wind swept the fire northward, and “fire proof” buildings melted before it. The only possible means of saving any part of the city was at last resorted to. Powder was obtained and whole blocks were mined and

blown to atoms. Insurance companies were generally ruined, and great distress followed. From such scourges ultimate good usually comes. Protection to life, health, and property now demanded adequate water-works.

The Croton aqueduct.—Immediately after the fire, steps were taken to provide the city with an abundant supply of pure water. A commission was appointed, and surveys were at once begun. It took ten years to complete the work, and when, on July 4, 1842, the Croton river was turned into the reservoir, New York city indulged in one of the greatest celebrations it had ever known.

The panic of 1837.—When in 1832, President Jackson vetoed the bill re-chartering the United States bank, it became necessary to close up its affairs. The old charter expired in 1836 and in preparation for this the directors began to retrench and collect.

Times had been prosperous, and throughout the country there had sprung up a wild spirit of speculation. This was particularly true in New York, and when the order from the bank went out to all parts of the Union, "Pay up!" it fell with a special severity on our State. It is probably true that this sudden curtailment was exercised the more stringently against New York banks and business men, because of Mr. Van Buren's ardent support of President Jackson. The effect was felt throughout the State. The debtor class was very large, and the distress became general. Banks failed, business firms suspended operations, and large numbers of men were thrown out of employment.

The patriot war.—In 1837 an event occurred which for a time threatened to disturb our peaceful relations with England. There was an outbreak in the Canadian provinces bordering on New York which enlisted the sympathies of many Americans, and in December, 1837, nearly 1,000 New Yorkers joined their fortunes to those of the Canadian rebels.

They seized Navy Island in Niagara river, where they were joined by Mackenzie, the Canadian leader. Their camp was soon broken up by regular troops, and Mackenzie fled to the United States.

The governor of Canada made requisition for his surrender, but Governor Marcy refused to deliver him up. Raids continued along the whole border until President Van Buren sent General Winfield Scott with troops to suppress them.

SUMMARY

1. United States bank; pet banks.
2. Origin and use of "United States Deposit Fund", 1832.
3. Growth of newspapers; prominent papers, 1830–1835.
4. Riots of 1830 to 1835; causes of.
5. Great fire in New York city, 1835.
6. Croton aqueduct, 1842.
7. The panic of 1837.
8. The "patriot war" of 1837.

CHAPTER XLVI

GROWTH OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT

“The irrepressible conflict”, 1836-1860.—

The anti-slavery sentiment was now becoming more pronounced in most of the northern and eastern States. To succeed to the presidency, Mr. Van Buren seemed to think it necessary to oppose all anti-slavery movements,—virtually espousing the cause of slavery. In this he was followed by Governor Marcy and the whole democratic party of New York.

Here, we may say, began that great struggle between freedom and slavery, which Mr. Seward a few years later styled “the irrepressible conflict”. The whigs, under the leadership of Mr. Seward, dared not champion the cause of abolition, so they brought up other issues. They charged the terrible financial condition of the country to the democrats, and laid upon them all the miseries of the “hard times” from which people were suffering.

But “abolition societies” were already forming in

the State and the attitude which Mr. Van Buren had taken antagonized many old time democrats. He secured the presidency in 1836, but his own State went for the whig ticket overwhelmingly in 1837, and William H. Seward was elected governor of New York by the same party in 1838 and re-elected in 1840.



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, 1801-1872
GOVERNOR, 1839-1843

Mr. Seward on the development of New York.

—One paragraph in Seward's first message to the legislature indicates so well the position of New York among the States at this period that it may be quoted:

“History furnishes no parallel to the financial achievements of this State. It surrendered (1786) its share in the national domain, and relinquished for the general welfare all the revenues of its foreign commerce, equal generally to *two-thirds of the entire expenditure of the federal government*. It has nevertheless sustained the expenses of its own administration, founded and endowed a broad system of education, charitable institutions for every class of the unfortunate, and a penitentiary establishment which is adopted as a model by civilized nations.

“It has increased four-fold the wealth of its citizens and relieved them from direct taxation, and in addition to all this, has carried forward a stupendous enterprise of improvement, all the while diminishing its debts, magnifying its credit, and augmenting its resources.”

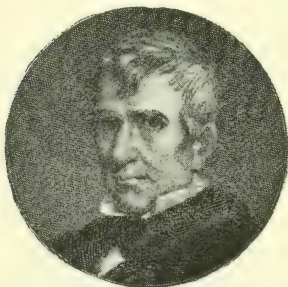
Conflict with the slave power.—During Governor Seward's first term he had a long correspondence with the governor of Virginia on the fugitive slave question. This controversy well illustrates the divided sentiment of our State at that time.

A slave escaped from Virginia and came to New York. Three negroes were accused of “stealing” him. The governor of Virginia demanded the surrender of the “fugitives from justice”. Mr. Seward refused to surrender them on the ground that the laws of New York did not recognize any such crime as “stealing” men. He submitted the correspondence

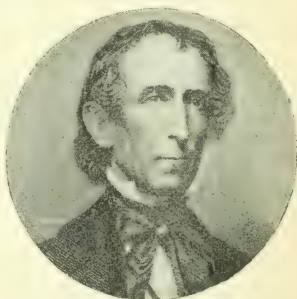
to the legislature. That body sustained the governor of Virginia, and directed Mr. Seward to return the fugitives. This he declined to do, and public sentiment sustained him in his course.

Mr. Seward's second term was chiefly notable for his efforts in behalf of education. In this work he was ably seconded by Mr. John C. Spencer, secretary of state and ex-officio superintendent of schools.

Political parties of 1840.—In the campaign of 1840, the whig party swept the country and elected for president William Henry Harrison, the “hero of Tippecanoe”*. He died after he had been president a month, and Vice-President Tyler succeeded him.

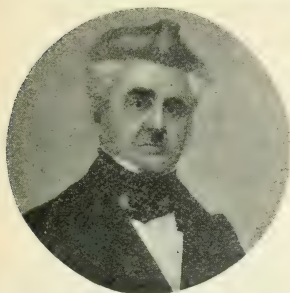


WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, 1773-1841
PRESIDENT, 1841



JOHN TYLER, 1790-1862
PRESIDENT, 1841-45

* This was called the “hard cider” campaign, the term originating as follows: General Harrison had once lived in a log house in the west, and was noted for his “hospitality”. In the campaign, particularly in New York, log houses were built in which political meetings were held, and in these hard cider was so freely dispensed to old and young that often the meetings degenerated into carousals.



WILLIAM C. BOUCK, 1786-1859
GOVERNOR, 1843-45

Whig government in New York, however, ended as suddenly as it began. In the fall of 1842, that party was completely routed, and William C. Bouck, the democratic candidate, was elected.

The "abolitionists" had now become a distinct organization, and their candidate received 7,000 votes.

The name "locofocos" was given to the Van Buren wing of the democracy because of their extravagant financial doctrines. They were anti-monopolists, were hostile to banks and all corporations, and talked much of "equal rights"*.

The anti-rent troubles of 1839-1846 grew out of conditions which had existed for many years.

In the western portion of the State the Holland Land company had sold large tracts of land to individual purchasers on long time, under mortgage.

In many cases the holders of the land had been unable to pay, and when an attempt was made to collect the principal and all accrued interest, resistance followed.

The chief troubles occurred in Rensselaer county

* At one of their meetings the opposition managed to extinguish the gas. Matches had just come into use and were called "lucifers" or "locofocos". The Van Buren party were ready with these in their pockets to re-light the hall, and from this incident were called "locofocos".

on the estates of the patroon, Van Rensselaer. In 1839 the heirs demanded, besides long arrears of interest, their right to one-fourth of the produce. To this the tenants objected.

Thousands of farmers formed themselves into anti-rent associations. These secret bands committed so many illegal acts that Governor Seward issued a proclamation against them and the sheriff called a posse of some 700 men to assist him in serving papers.

The militia companies from Albany and Troy were called out. These with the sheriff's posses were checked for a while by the anti-renters, and several persons were killed.

In 1840 the governor advised legislative enactment for the adjustment of the difficulties. To this the tenants consented, but now the landlords refused to agree to the settlement proposed. In 1845 violence was repeated; many arrests were made, but convictions were difficult. No legal remedy was applied until the constitutional revision of 1846, when the whole trouble was permanently settled.

Party divisions.—The subject of slavery was now entering more and more into New York politics, and the great democratic party was split into two factions.

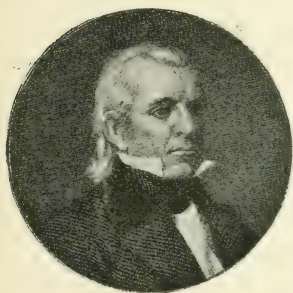
The term "barn-burners" was given to that wing of the party which was opposed to slavery, and which sympathized with the anti-renters, who had burned barns. These were radicals. The "hunkers" were old-time democrats,—unprogressive and conservative. This division threatened the entire overthrow of the party in this State.

The whigs were also divided by the formation of a

small faction known as the "native American party".

This disintegration of the old parties was but one step toward the process of re-organization, sure to come in a few years, when all political forces would be arranged on opposite sides of the "slavery question".

In 1844 Silas Wright was elected governor of New



JAMES KNOX POLK, 1795-1849
PRESIDENT, 1845-49



SILAS WRIGHT, 1795-1847
GOVERNOR, 1845-47

York, and the same year James K. Polk was elected president over Henry Clay.

SUMMARY

1. The irrepressible conflict; leaders, parties and their position.
2. Politics of 1836, 1837, 1838.
3. Mr. Seward on "development of New York".
4. Seward's conflict with slave-power.
5. Hard cider campaign; locofocos.
6. Anti-rent troubles, east and west.
7. Party divisions; "barn-burners" and "hunkers".

CHAPTER XLVII

DURING THE MEXICAN WAR

Constitutional revision of 1846.—During the preceding twenty-five years, ten different proposals for amendments to the constitution had been made. In all of these the tendency had been away from the old idea of “privileges” for the people and in the direction of “rights” for the masses. After many efforts to secure these rights, the people now chose their own presidential electors. The franchise had been extended and cities were allowed to elect their own mayors, but there were yet many matters concerning which the people differed radically from their rulers.

The patroon system which still existed was the source of many difficulties. The annual expenditures of large sums for internal improvements had produced a heavy debt. It was necessary that extra safe guards should be placed about appropriations, and provision be made for extinguishing the debt. The judicial system was quite independent of the people and needed radical reformation. When, therefore, the question of revision was submitted, the vote was almost a unanimous one in its favor.

Important changes.—The covention met at Albany, October 9, 1846, and was presided over by Ex-Lieutenant Governor Tracy. The most important changes made were as follows:

1. Provision was made for the election of members to both houses of the State legislature by separate districts.

2. The court of errors was abolished and the court of appeals was established.

3. The court of chancery was merged into the supreme court.

4. All judges and justices of the peace were made elective by the people.

5. All feudal tenures were abolished, and the title to lands made "allodial", i. e., freehold*.

6. Sinking funds were provided for the canal and general debts.

7. The loan of the credit of the State was forbidden.

8. The school and literature funds were declared inviolate.

9. Provision was made for the creation of corporations.

10. The question of revision was required to be submitted to the people once in every twenty years.

The amendments were adopted by a majority vote of 130,000. It is doubtful if the history of any other State or country can show such rapid and successful progress in the direction of turning the business of the government over to the people, for whose benefit all free governments are instituted.

The Mexican war, 1845-1847.—During Governor Wright's administration the war with Mexico began.

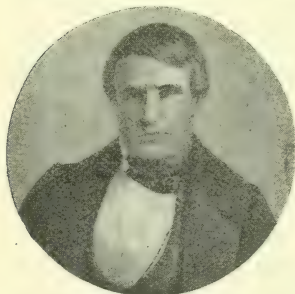
*This settled the anti-rent troubles. Under the constitutional provision agricultural lands could not be leased for a longer term than twelve years, if any rent or service was reserved.

New York furnished only 3,000 men, but kept on her even way, developing her resources and making public improvements.

With rare exceptions New York men of all parties opposed the steps that resulted in the war with Mexico. They were opposed to the admission of Texas as being a scheme for the extension of slavery.

They opposed the president's action in the boundary dispute as a plan to secure more slave territory, and behind his war policy they saw a design to wrest from Mexico additional slave States.

But true to their natural instincts, once the war began, men condoned the crime and gloried in the success of our arms.



JOHN YOUNG, 1802-1852
GOVERNOR, 1847-49

The war opened the eyes of our people to the growing demands of the slave power and intensified the feeling that already existed against slavery.

In the election of 1846, the whigs and anti-renters combined and elected John Young governor of New York.

The "woman's rights movement" had its origin at Seneca Falls, July 19, 1848, when a party of ladies and gentlemen met in that village and, for the first time, brought the legal wrongs of woman before the public. Present at that meeting were Mr. James Mott, who presided, his wife, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, Mr. Ansel Bas-

com, a lawyer of Seneca Falls, and a member of the constitutional convention of 1846, Mr. Thomas McClintock, a Quaker preacher, Frederick Douglass, the colored orator, and many others. To Mr. Ansel Bascom and David Dudley Field must be given most credit for those amendments to New York State laws, which have given woman many of the rights which she now possesses.

Until near the middle of the present century, the rights and responsibilities of married women, were in nearly all the States governed by the practices and customs of the "common law" of England. By those laws, woman's rights were, at marriage, merged in those of her husband. Apart from him she could own no property, could make no contracts, could not collect or use her own earnings, nor control her own children. On the death of the husband, his personal property went at once to his legal heirs, the wife being entitled only to a life lease of one-third his real estate. And this was true no matter how large the wife's share may have been in the accumulation of the property.

In her address before the Seneca Falls meeting, Mrs. Stanton boldly declared in favor of the enactment of such laws as should protect married women in their property rights, and for this purpose demanded that the ballot should be placed in their hands. This meeting was followed by others, in all parts of the State. Public sentiment was divided. Many ridiculed the movement, but the earnestness of its advocates and the justness of their cause soon won recognition.

Gradually laws were enacted which gave to woman the full property rights which she now enjoys. She may retain, hold and devise all property of which she was possessed at marriage. She may make contracts and conduct business in her own name; may collect, hold and use her own earnings; may sue and be sued and confess judgment; and may retain at least a one-third interest in all a deceased husband's property, personal as well as real.

The effects of this movement have been wide-spread. In 27 States woman suffrage is now recognized in some form. In 20 of these, women have school suffrage; in one, Kansas, full municipal suffrage; while four, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, grant full suffrage and the right to hold office.

Free soilers.—The first “free soil” convention in the State was held in 1848. The Polk faction of the democratic party chose delegates to the national convention to meet at Baltimore in May, and they put an electoral ticket in nomination. There was in New York a large wing of the party which opposed their action. These not only chose a delegation to the Baltimore convention, but issued a call for a convention to meet at Utica, in February. They were known as “free soilers”, “radicals”, or “barn-burners”, and were opposed to the further extension of slavery.

The Baltimore convention attempted to divide the two delegations and admit one-half of each. To this proposition the free soil delegates objected. They withdrew and went to New York city, where they held

a great meeting in city hall park,—the scene of so many stirring events in our history.

They condemned the cowardice of the delegation which had voted with the pro-slavery party of the south, and issued to the democracy of the State a warning address written by Samuel J. Tilden, in which they called for independent action.

The Buffalo convention.—The result was the call for a national free soil convention to meet at Buffalo in August, 1848, over which Charles Francis Adams presided.

Benjamin Franklin Butler*, of New York, presented the resolutions, which contained these remarkable words: “*Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king,*” and also gave to the country that great anti-slavery war-cry: “*We inscribe on our banner free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men.*”

This convention nominated Martin Van Buren for the presidency, and Charles Francis Adams for the vice-presidency.

Thus New York took the lead in the movement that at last swept slavery from the whole country.

Of the men who participated in this convention, many became conspicuous leaders in the great anti-slavery uprising of 1856.

The campaign of 1848 came on, and it is doubtful if a more exciting one ever occurred. The result was a victory for the whigs, and the election of Zachary Tay-

* A lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell, born 1795, died 1858. He must be distinguished from Gen. Butler of Massachusetts of the same name, born 1818, died 1893.



ZACHARY TAYLOR, 1784-1850
PRESIDENT, 1849-50

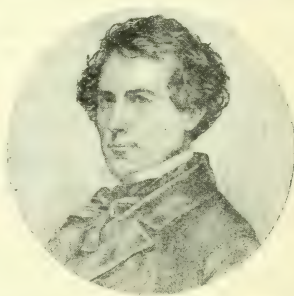


MILLARD FILLMORE, 1800-1874
PRESIDENT, 1850-53

lor to the presidency. Millard Fillmore, a distinguished citizen of New York became vice-president, and Ham-



HAMILTON FISH, 1809-1893
GOVERNOR, 1849-50



WASHINGTON HUNT, 1811-1867
GOVERNOR, 1851-2

ilton Fish was elected governor of the State. In 1850, Washington Hunt, also a whig, was elected to the governor's office.

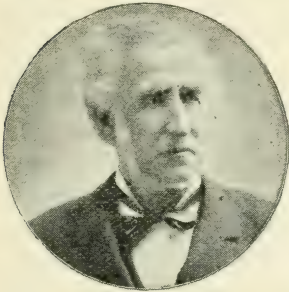
SUMMARY

1. Constitutional revision of 1846.
2. The Mexican war.
3. The woman's rights movement.
4. The free soil party.
5. Election of Taylor and Fillmore.

CHAPTER XLVIII

PROHIBITORY LEGISLATION

New York again democratic.—In 1852 Horatio



HORATIO SEYMOUR, 1810-1886
GOVERNOR, 1853-54; 1863-64

Seymour, a prominent democrat, was elected governor of New York.

Two events of this administration should be noted. One was the transfer in 1853 of the schools of New York city, which had been under the management of the "public school society", into the control of a board of education. The

second was the re-establishment of the office of State superintendent of schools.

Rights and duties.—So far, in the history of the State, "the people" had been largely interested in securing their rights. These they had now obtained, and with the spirit born of free institutions, they began to turn their attention to what they considered their duties; matters which then seemed to demand reformation. Chief among these were slavery and the liquor traffic.

Anti-slavery sentiment.—When slavery was abolished in the State (1827) no particular moral considera-

tions entered into the question. But with the lapse of years came a new generation that remembered nothing of slavery in New York, and each time a slave escaped from a southern plantation and entered the State their sympathies were stirred.

The "Dred Scott decision", the passage of the "fugitive slave law", the repeal of the "Missouri compromise", Mr. Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speeches, and, especially, the appearance of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", had all created a sentiment against slavery which politicians could not control.



HARRIET BEECHER STOWE,
1812-1896

As a consequence, the abolition, or at least the restriction of slavery was counted among the "duties" about which every candidate for office was severely catechised.

The Lemon case.—The feeling in New York against slavery had been greatly intensified by a case which occurred in 1852. One Jonathan Lemon from Virginia brought eight slaves to New York city, intending to ship them to Texas.

On application by some members of an abolition society, Judge Paine of the supreme court granted a writ of *habeas corpus*. They were brought before him, and, under a law forbidding slavery in the State, were set free and helped to escape to Canada.

Other cases followed. The opinions of the people were not all one way. Many declared that slaves must

be given up, but very few when called upon would assist in catching a runaway.

One judge who had been particularly severe in open court, actually hid some fugitives in his barn, and shortly the "underground railroad" was in operation all over the State.

The crystal palace exhibition of 1853.—An exhibition had been held in London in 1851 which aroused a genuine spirit of emulation in America. The result was a similar exhibit in New York city in 1853-54. This was the first concerted plan to exhibit to the world the products of America. It has been completely eclipsed by many others since, yet probably none of its successors have done more to make the United States known to the old world.

Until that time it was not supposed that America contained anything to interest Europeans, except her scenery and her big game, and newspapers gravely told stories of the surprise of Englishmen at "seeing so large a town and no Indians". There was genuine surprise at the extent and quality of American manufactures. This fair was the beginning of American competition in European markets, especially in agricultural implements.

Temperance movements.—From the administration of Governor Sloughter to the time of Governor Seymour, men had deplored the evils of intemperance, but not until this decade had temperance societies been formed with the distinct idea of taking a hand in the politics of the State.

Governor Seymour's position on these issues prevent-



MYRON H. CLARK, 1806-1892
GOVERNOR, 1855-56

ed his re-election. He was defeated by the combined vote of the abolitionists and the temperance party, and Myron H. Clark was elected governor, with a whig majority in both branches of the legislature. Governor Seymour was entirely sincere in his opinion that slavery was recognized by the constitution

and should not be interfered with, and, himself a man of the purest personal character, he did not believe that the evils of intemperance could be cured by legislation.

He had failed to gauge correctly the trend of public sentiment in the country, and was remanded to private life, to be called up again when the re-action should set in.

Administration of Governor Clark.—Myron H. Clark was a man who from personal conviction had early taken strong ground in favor of temperance legislation, as he had also in regard to what in those days was called “the encroachment of the slave power”.

In his first message he called attention to the controversy with Virginia. This had begun several years before over the operations of the “fugitive slave law”, which practically carried slavery into every State in the union.

Several States had already passed what were known as “personal liberty bills”, which were, in reality, intended to nullify an act of congress.

Prohibitory legislation.—Governor Clark kept his pledges to the temperance people. The “Maine

law", as it was called, had been passed in that State in 1851, and the temperance people of New York had since that year clamored for "prohibition". A prohibitory law had indeed passed the legislature and had been vetoed by Governor Seymour in 1854; but in 1855 the legislature passed a stringent prohibitory law by a vote of 80 to 45 in the assembly and by 21 to 11 in the senate, which Governor Clark promptly signed. The law went into effect July 4, 1855, and outside the large cities was enforced. In New York city, Mayor Fernando Wood questioned its constitutionality and decided to ignore it.

The next year the law came before the supreme court of the State and met with a reverse. Five judges voted that it was unconstitutional, "because *it interfered with the use of property already in possession.*"

Bills were at once introduced in the legislature which sought to overcome this objection, but the great regard in which the opinion of the court was held prevented their passage, and in subsequent sessions the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment completely overshadowed all other issues.

A second prohibitory law came to a third reading in May, 1859, but failed of passage.

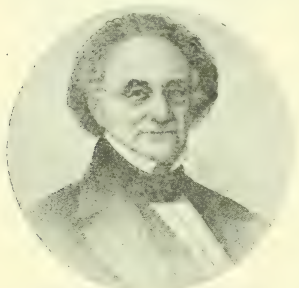
SUMMARY

1. "Rights and duties".
2. Anti-slavery sentiment.
3. The "Lemon case".
4. Crystal palace exhibition, 1853.
5. Temperance legislation.
6. First prohibition governor, 1854.
7. Personal liberty bills.
8. Prohibition.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

Revision urged.—When Governor King came into office he urged a revision of the excise laws, the removal of the property qualification still required of colored voters, and resistance to the demands of the slave power.



JOHN ALSOP KING, 1788-1867
GOVERNOR, 1857-58

The position of New York at this time was a difficult one. The conscience of the people was fully aroused on the subject of slavery, but

commercial relations between New York and the southern States were so intimate that there was great hesitation in regard to any movement that would jeopardize trade.

The inhabitants of the State were an eminently practical people, but they prized the institutions of their country before every other possession. They frequently denounced "abolitionists" in unmeasured terms, but they were ready to make any sacrifice for the maintenance of the republic. Gradually the conviction grew that slavery must go no further, and when there began to be talk of dissolving the union, the people ran ahead of every demand made upon them by the State authorities.



FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1804-1869
PRESIDENT, 1853-57

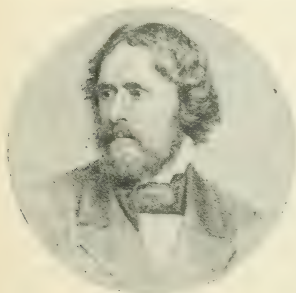
During the presidency of Franklin Pierce public sentiment against slavery was growing. New York has never taken any backward steps, and when the time came that decided action must be taken, she spoke in no uncertain tones.

The republican party.
—National issues now dominated all others. Out of the disintegration of the old

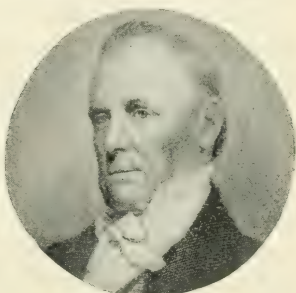
parties a new party had been formed. It had taken the name “republican”.

Its line of action was not clear at the beginning, but gradually its principles had crystallized around the one idea of “resistance to the extension of slavery”.

Its leaders did not advocate immediate abolition. That was impracticable. They did, however, favor the present restriction of slavery and its ultimate extinction. They announced the cardinal principles



JOHN C. FREMONT,
1830-1890



JAMES BUCHANAN, 1791-1861
PRESIDENT, 1857-1861

of their organization "equal rights for all men, and protection in the enjoyment of those rights". They pronounced "slavery sectional and freedom national".

In 1856 this party had nominated General John C. Fremont for the presidency, and he had been defeated by the election of James Buchanan, the democratic candidate.

Edwin D. Morgan, governor, 1858.—When the



EDWIN DENNISON MORGAN. 1811-
1883: GOVERNOR. 1859-62

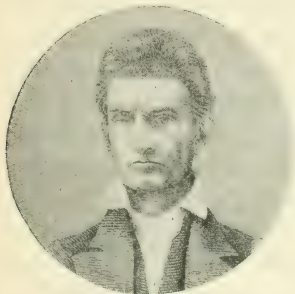
elections of 1858 came on, the republicans were much better organized. For the office of governor they had nominated Edwin D. Morgan, a New York merchant of large experience in public affairs. He was elected by a small majority over Amasa J. Parker, the regular democratic candidate. As he was re-

elected in 1860, he will always be known in history as New York's "war governor".

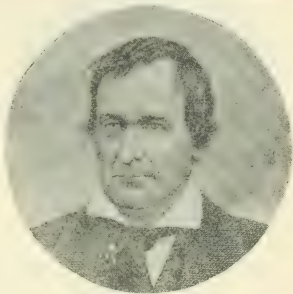
By the close of his first term, threats of disunion were flying thick from southern leaders. New York was never more in need of a wise governor, a loyal legislature, a firm, patriotic delegation in congress. These she now had.

New York's loyalty.—Deep in the hearts of the people was rising a tide of patriotic feeling, a passionate love for liberty, which was destined soon, in the political arena, to sweep every other consideration before it.

John Brown's raid.—This erratic man moved into Essex county, N. Y., in 1849, and settled upon lands



JOHN BROWN, 1800-1859.



GERRIT SMITH, 1797-1874

given him by Gerrit Smith, the abolitionist leader.

In 1854 his sons had settled in Kansas, where they soon took part in the endeavor to make that a free State. They were raided by marauding bands from Missouri, their property was plundered, and they sent to their father for aid. He went to Kansas and soon became a leader in the rough encounters on "the border", and from one of the contests became known as "Ossawatimie Brown". Later he was engaged in the dangerous enterprise of assisting slaves to escape.

In 1859 he entered upon the hopeless task of organizing a slave insurrection at Harper's Ferry.

The story of his capture and trial, his condemnation and execution has been told over and over. In New York, a large majority condemned Brown's act, but, strangely enough, they also wept over his fate and counted his execution an outrage. If John Brown's raid helped to bring on southern secession, it also united the people of New York against slavery.

Re-election of Governor Morgan, 1860.—In the

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809-1865
PRESIDENT, 1861-65

campaign of 1860, there was in New York very little excitement; the feeling among all classes was too deep. The whole political sky was full of portents of the coming storm. The State gave Mr. Lincoln a majority of 50,000, and they re-elected Governor Morgan by a majority of more than 63,000. Threats

had been freely made that if Mr. Lincoln was elected there would be opposition to his inauguration, but the people of New York voted with the determination that whoever was elected to the presidency should be inaugurated. The conviction that Governor Morgan could be trusted for a wise, firm administration in the event of any attempt to defeat the will of the people, gave to him 13,000 more votes than Mr. Lincoln received.

A new era.—We have now traced the history of our State³ since its early settlement through five distinct periods: (1) A dependency of Holland chartered to and governed by a commercial company, purely as a commercial enterprise; (2) an English proprietary colony, the property of a royal prince, subject to all his whims and caprices; (3) a dependency of the British crown, a royal province, governed through a long period of years by favorites having no interest in the prosperity or happiness of the people they ruled; (4) after revolution, an independent State, owning no

allegiance to any prince or potentate; (5) a component part of a general government.

The State has revised its own constitutions, liberating its people and enlarging their privileges, until their will, expressed by the ballot, is supreme.

During these years its population has increased to 4 millions; its valuation to 1,440 millions; the value of its annual manufactures to 349 millions.

Nor has its wealth proved to be entirely material. No other State contains so many churches, none has contributed such munificent sums for the cause of education.

With wealth has come leisure, and with leisure a remarkable development in literary affairs, shown in the founding of libraries, the multiplication of newspapers and magazines, and, especially, in the demand for books which has carried the school library into every district of the State.

Now dawns a new era when New York must enlarge the bounds of her industries and the field of her usefulness. Having liberated and enfranchised her own people, she must aid in carrying the same blessings to other less fortunate States and peoples, and in this work find an enlargement of her own resources.

SUMMARY

1. Governor King's administration.
2. Rise of the republican party.
3. Threats of disunion.
4. Edwin D. Morgan our "war governor".
5. John Brown's raid.
6. New York enters upon a new era.

PERIOD X

CHAPTER I

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR, 1861

New York's loyalty, 1860-1865.—The history of New York during this period is in a large sense the history of the United States. Her vote for Lincoln was an expression of her love for the union and the support which her statesmen gave him was unstinted. The more than 200 regiments which she equipped and sent to the war would constitute a royal army. The blood of her sons, poured out on every battle-field of the south, testified to their patriotic devotion.

New York's response to southern threats of secession, the one which became the battle-cry of the union, was the telegram of John A. Dix, a loyal son of New York, then secretary of the treasury, to an agent of the department in New Orleans: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!"

In the city of New York there was a natural dread of the effects of war upon trade. Robert Toombs of Georgia had in congress declared that if the south seceded grass would grow in the streets of New York.

Governor Morgan's message to the legislature was calm and dignified, but firm. In it occurred this para-

graph, worthy of preservation with Lincoln's first inaugural address:

“Let New York set an example; let her oppose no barrier to conciliation; let her representatives in congress give ready support to any *honorable* settlement; let her stand in hostility to none; let her extend the hand of friendship to all; but let her live up to the strict letter of the constitution, and cordially unite in proclaiming and enforcing a determination that the constitution shall be honored and the union of the States preserved.”

The time of waiting, 1860-1861.—The loyal people of New York could not believe that the south really meant to destroy the union, yet from the day that the election of Mr. Lincoln was known to be beyond doubt they saw that war was among the possibilities.

William H. Seward, who had been New York's candidate for the nomination which Mr. Lincoln had secured, threw the whole weight of his influence in favor of the president-elect. The legislature, when it met in January, 1861, with but one dissenting vote in the assembly and two in the senate tendered to the national government whatever might be necessary to uphold its authority; while in response to an invitation from Virginia, that no opportunity to preserve peace might be omitted, this same legislature sent a strong delegation to a peace convention which was held in Washington, in February, 1861.

Prominent men were not lacking who took a genuine southern view of the situation. Ex-Governor Seymour in a meeting held in Utica, in October, 1861, declared:

“ If it is true that slavery must be abolished to save the union, then the people of the south should be allowed to withdraw themselves from that government which cannot give them the protection guaranteed by its terms.”

The mass of the people never wavered in their determination that Abraham Lincoln should be inaugurated; that as president he should be sustained, and that the union as it was should be preserved.

As the 4th of March approached this thought was uppermost in the minds of the people. Seven States had already seceded. United States forts all over the south had been seized, and the property of northern citizens in southern States confiscated.

Lincoln in Albany.—On the 18th of February, Mr. Lincoln reached Albany on his way to Washington and was received by Governor Morgan and the legislature. His feelings were perfectly expressed in his reply to an address of welcome by the chairman of a legislative committee, in which the complete support of the State was pledged to him in the discharge of his duties. He said: “ While I hold myself without mock modesty, the humblest of all individuals that have been elected to the presidency, I have a more difficult task than any of them.”

Secession begun.—When Mr. Lincoln reached Washington, before he had taken the oath of office, or had publicly outlined his policy, the union, so far as acts of southern legislatures or of southern State militia could go, had been dissolved.

Mr. Lincoln's task was, indeed, a difficult one. Until the 15th of April, the president waited, and then,

when further efforts at reconciliation were useless, he called for 75,000 men.

New York's quota was to be seventeen regiments of 780 each, or more, than 13,000 men, and the response was prompt and unhesitating. On April 16 the State military board met Governor Morgan. No time was wasted in useless deliberation. The president had asked for one regiment that week; the capital was thought to be in danger. The response of the people was enthusiastic. The national guard of New York and Brooklyn sprang to arms. There was a generous rivalry to see which regiment should first be ready to march. The Sixth Massachusetts was first equipped, and passed through New York a few hours before the gallant Seventh was ready.

The Sixth met serious resistance at Baltimore and so great was the need at Washington that the Seventh New York was sent around by Annapolis to avoid the possibility of detention*.

The summer of 1861.—Who that remembers that summer can recall it without a thrill! Who that did not participate in its scenes can imagine it!

Until that year the stars and stripes were rarely seen except as they floated over some United States fort or government building.

* From the 7th New York many men rose to prominence during the war; six to the rank of major-general; twenty-five became brigadier-generals. In central park stands a monument to the memory of fifty-eight of its members who fell in the defence of the union. This regiment furnished 603 officers to the volunteer service, of whom 41 were killed in battle, and 17 died of disease.

The flag suddenly sprang into view everywhere, as flowers blossom in spring. . In every village and hamlet, on every hill and in every valley it waved. Flags enough could not be purchased; loyal women made them of every fabric that could furnish the trinity of red, white and blue. Wherever possible, it bore the legends, "The Union forever !" "The Union, it must and shall be preserved !" The burden of them all was "The Union !" and deep in the hearts of the people was registered the vow, "*It shall be preserved !*"

New York's quota was soon filled; it could as easily have been filled five times over. Everywhere old men and young men and boys dropped the employments in which they were engaged, and hurrying to the recruiting offices begged to be received into the regiments then forming. They came from every field of labor, from every profession in life, while schools and colleges were almost depopulated*.

A writer † on this period well says: "Surely if the voice of the people can ever be accounted as inspiration of God, that which came in the united tones of the great mass of statesmen and jurists, historians and scholars, philosophers and poets, warriors and spiritual guides, must be so accepted.

On the side of the union stood Bancroft and Motley and Sparks and Palfrey, who had made the history of free institutions their life study. The harps of Bryant and Longfellow and Whittier and Holmes and Lowell were strung to the music of the union, to inspire the

* From one university every young man in the class of '61 entered the service.

† Thomas C. Townsend.

hearts of the people and nerve their arms for the conflict."

New York's mayor.—In 1861, Fernando Wood was mayor of New York city. He was in full sympathy with the secession element of the south. He even advocated the secession of New York city from the State. These were his arguments: "New York supports by her revenues two-thirds of the expenses of the federal government. As a free city, with a nominal duty on imports, her government could be supported without taxing her people one cent."

This plausible argument found many adherents in the city, and occasionally one in the interior of the State. It was said, "New York does not need the rest of the union; she can live alone."

The common council of New York at this time were quite in sympathy with the mayor. They ordered 3,000 copies of his message printed for distribution. Thus early did Fernando Wood begin sowing the "dragon's teeth" that should soon, in the draft riots, grow a crop of armed men. He and his followers failed to see the logical outcome of their doctrine. If a State could leave the union, a county or city could withdraw from a State, and a ward from a city*. Self-interest alone can never constitute nor preserve a State.

Mayor Wood and all his adherents were soon swept into a political grave as dishonored as the one which, at the close of the revolution, engulfed the tories.

* In the south, the people who argued in this way were called "secessionists"; in the north they were called "copperheads".

New York prepares for war.—The voice of the people was now to be heard. The governor designated Elmira as the place of rendezvous for the troops of the State. The president had asked New York for 13,000 men. In ten days 10,000 men had been equipped and sent forward, and in seventy-seven days 40,000 more were in camp awaiting transportation.

The legislature voted \$3,000,000 for equipments, sent an agent to Europe with \$500,000. to purchase arms, and then waited to see what could next be done.

The great Union square meeting, 1861.—A war meeting was called in Union square, April 20. This call brought out such a throng of people that four separate divisions were made. Speeches full of patriotic fervor were delivered at each stand; the enthusiasm was unbounded. New York's merchant princes were present and their lives and fortunes, as in revolutionary days, were freely offered to their country. From this meeting came the "committee of safety", which in one year raised a million for the equipment of soldiers and the relief of their families.

Sanitary commission.—This association had its origin in a meeting held in Cooper Union, New York city, April 26, 1861, when a benevolent organization known as "The Women's Central Relief association" was organized.

It was designed to carry relief to sick and wounded soldiers, and collected five millions in cash and supplies to the value of fifteen millions, all of which was distributed through its various branches in the cities of the north.

The christian commission, a twin organization of the sanitary commission, also had its origin in New York. It followed the armies for the distribution of clothing, hospital supplies, food and reading matter for convalescent soldiers. During the war it raised and contributed nearly seven millions.

SUMMARY

1. Attitude of New York toward secession.
2. General Dix.
3. Governor Morgan's message.
4. New York in the election of 1860.
5. Governor Seymour's attitude.
6. Mr. Lincoln in Albany, February, 1861.
7. New York's response to first call for troops.
8. New York in 1861; her quota and response.
9. The Seventh New York in the war.
10. Mayor Fernando Wood on the war.
11. "Secessionists"; "copperheads".
12. Action of New York legislature.
13. Sanitary commission.
14. Christian commission.

CHAPTER LI

THE OPPONENTS OF THE UNION IN CONTROL

The re-action of 1862.—By the autumn of this year the State began to experience the natural results of the prodigious efforts she had put forth.

She had sent to the field 219,000 men. Nearly 300 millions had been contributed in bounties to volunteers, in payment for equipments and in gifts and loans to the nation.

The withdrawal of so many men, largely from the producing class, and of so large an amount of money from business had greatly diminished the resources of the State and a financial stringency began to be felt.

To make the situation still more grave, our armies had won no considerable success in the field. Of battles and skirmishes 616 had been fought, among them Bull Run, Fair Oaks, Gaines Mills, South Mountain, Antietam and Fredericksburg,—all entailing heavy losses,—and yet the end was not in sight.

Volunteering was still active among the masses, but those who had opposed the war took advantage of the situation to declare that it was a failure, scored all its advocates as abolitionists, and entered upon the State campaign with the demand that hostilities must cease.

State election of 1862.—The republican candidate for governor was James S. Wadsworth, who had in 1861 chartered a steamer at his own expense, loaded

it with provisions, and gone to the relief of the soldiers stationed at Washington*.

On Sept. 22, the democrats nominated Horatio Seymour. President Lincoln had issued his preliminary proclamation, announcing that in all those States and parts of States which should be in rebellion on the first day of January following, the slaves would be declared free. Although at the time this was intended purely as a war measure, it was used as a proof that the war was being prosecuted for the purpose of abolition. Soldiers in the field were not allowed to vote, and Mr. Seymour was elected by 11,000 majority,—the whole number of votes cast being nearly 73,000 less than in 1860.

As an indication of the spirit of the campaign and of the influences which carried the election, a brief quotation may be given from Mr. Seymour's speech in accepting the nomination for governor. He said: "The *scheme for an immediate* emancipation and general arming of the slaves throughout the States is a proposal for the butchery of women and children; for scenes of lust and rapine, of arson and murder, unparalleled in the history of the world. The horrors of the French revolution would become tame in comparison."

The peace faction.—Governor Seymour's message to the legislature was, in the main, a protest against the conduct of the government. He gave what was called a history of the causes which led to the war, and arraigned the national administration for its part

* Later, in the battle of the Wilderness, he fell at the head of his division.

in it. This had its effect in the riots which followed, and was a source of great encouragement to the confederate cause.

The opponents of the war, known as the "peace faction", did much to hinder the success of the union arms. They planned a great demonstration for the 4th of July, and though not so imposing an affair as they expected, it gave them an opportunity to express their sentiments. They ridiculed the attempt to capture Vicksburg, which they pronounced "impregnable"; they sneered at President Lincoln's call for men to expel Lee from Pennsylvania as a "midnight cry for help"; when, had telegraph lines been in working order, they would have known, at the very hour of their meeting, that Vicksburg had already surrendered, and that Lee, hurled back from Pilot Knob and Cemetery Ridge, was on his final retreat from northern soil.

The identical day on which they pronounced the war a failure, has, in history, been named "the high-tide of the rebellion"*.

The draft riots.—In April, 1863, the president had issued another call for 300,000 men. The quotas in many counties could not be filled by volunteers even when enormous bounties were offered. In all these districts "drafts" were ordered.

In New York city the drawing was to begin on July 11. When the lists of those liable to the draft were posted there were intimations of trouble. Some of

* It was a most singular coincidence that Vicksburg surrendered to Grant, and Lee was driven from Gettysburg on the 4th day of July, 1863, while this meeting was in progress.

the marshalls were attacked while putting up the notices. Several influential journals, in editorials calculated to inflame the passions of the disorderly elements of the city, declared that the draft was "unconstitutional", New York's quota "excessive", and the acts of the government "tyrannical". In addition to this, hand-bills were circulated in grog-shops and other places where they would reach the dangerous classes, calling on men to "resist the draft". To make matters still worse, the militia of the State had mostly been sent to Pennsylvania against Lee, and had not yet returned. The draft began on Saturday and next day the Sunday newspapers contained lists of names of those who had been drawn.

On Monday rioting began. Travel was impeded by taking the horses from the street cars in the vicinity of the marshall's office. Immediately a crowd was formed which bore down upon the office like a wave, smashed the windows, drove out the sixty policemen guarding the place, and fired the building.

When the fire department arrived, the crowd, now become a mob, would not allow water to be turned on. The chief of police was attacked and beaten to insensibility.

Similar scenes occurred in other parts of the city. Toward evening the rioters formed a procession and marched down Broadway in a compact mass, with drums and banners and firearms. They were met by a body of two hundred policemen under inspector Daniel Carpenter, whose orders were "*Take no prisoners! Strike quick and hard!*" The battle was a short one, but when it was over Broadway was strewn with

dead and wounded men,—rioters and policemen. The mob set upon every negro they met, man, woman, or child, and they burned the colored orphan asylum at Fifth avenue and 44th street.

These scenes lasted for three days, when a few hundred soldiers, returning from sick-leave, were organized to assist the police, two or three regiments were recalled from Pennsylvania, and order was once more restored. Not less than 1,000 of the mob had been killed, 50 policemen severely injured and three killed, while property to the value of two millions had been destroyed.

Among many deeds of personal heroism, one may be mentioned. The American flag wherever displayed was an object of attack. A certain Catholic priest, later a venerable and honored member of the Board of Regents, kept his flag flying, and himself guarded it with a musket.

Such examples did much to encourage the police and hearten the friends of good order. The governor of the State was criticised for addressing the mob as “my friends”, and for a telegram sent to President Lincoln, proposing that the draft should be stopped “until its constitutionality could be decided by the courts.”

SUMMARY

1. Reaction of 1862; cause of.
2. Effect on State elections, 1862.
3. New York in 1863; the “peace faction”.
4. Their Fourth of July celebration; Gettysburg and Vicksburg.

5. The " high-tide of the rebellion ".
6. Draft riots; cause, story of.
7. A patriotic priest.
8. Governor Seymour's action.

CHAPTER LII

ONCE MORE UNDER LOYAL CONTROL

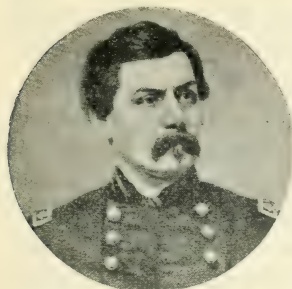
The Union League club.—The political conflict in the State brought out a most remarkable organization known as “the Union League club”. This was organized in the city of New York, March 30, 1863, for the purpose of giving support to the national government in all its struggles.

Among the first acts of this club was a request to Governor Seymour for permission to organize a regiment of colored troops in the State. On his refusal they applied to the secretary of war, who gave the necessary authority, and *within one week the regiment was ready*,—the “Union League club” contributing \$18,000 toward its equipment.

No organization did more to maintain confidence in the ability of the government to put down the rebellion than did the “Union League”. It was composed of men of wealth and influence who contributed freely of their own means, and who to the end of the war stood like a fortress against all efforts to weaken the hands of President Lincoln. As a result, confidence returned and with it came success.

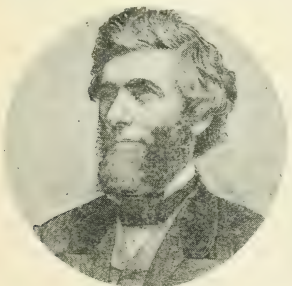
Re-election of Mr. Lincoln.—The summer of 1864 was an anxious time, for the contest was narrowing. Grant had been placed in supreme command

and was tightening his grip upon Richmond, while Sherman was advancing on Atlanta. An effort was made to defeat the re-election of Mr. Lincoln by nominating against him Gen. McClellan, who had resigned from the army.



GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN
1826-1885

of the ballot. They were allowed to vote and not only was Mr. Lincoln re-elected, but New York chose a "war governor", Reubene Fenton, a distinguished citizen of Jamestown, who, ably seconded by a loyal legislature, soon brought New York again into line for the support of the national administration and the vigorous prosecution of the war*. During this year a State "bureau of military statistics" was formed, and the national guard organized.



REUBENE FENTON, 1819-1885
GOVERNOR, 1865-68

*It is quite the custom to charge fraud to the elections held in the army in 1864. It is a slander on the men who defended the union. The soldiers believed in Abraham Lincoln. The writer witnessed that election in camp, and believes that no elections in these days have been more honestly conducted.

In his first message to the legislature Governor Fenton recommended the adoption of the 13th amendment to the national constitution, and it was subsequently ratified by that body.

The conflict ended, 1865.—With the opening of the new year men began to feel that the end of the great struggle was not far away. The Mississippi ran free to the gulf; Atlanta had fallen; Sherman was on his march to the sea; and around Richmond Grant was drawing his lines so close that all knew the capital of the confederacy was doomed.

In April came the thrilling news flashed from army to army, from city to city, and carried by swiftest ships to every port in Europe, “Richmond has fallen!” “Lee has surrendered!” “Johnston has surrendered”!

Men in the far away camps about Mobile Bay heard it from confederates scarcely less glad than they. New York’s soldiers in the trenches, and behind log-breast-works, and on the skirmish line received the news according to their different temperaments. Some wept, others threw down their guns, swung their caps, and hurraed till they were hoarse.

Death of Lincoln, April 15, 1865.—Hardly had New York’s soldiers come fully to realize that the war was over, when the startling news came flying through the camps that Lincoln had been assassinated. Loyal men, remembering the hate that had through four long years pursued the president, were overcome with the feeling that this was the last resort of his enemies. Thirsting for revenge, men deserted the camps and frantic with grief and rage wandered about in squads,

eager to find some one who would dare to justify the deed.

It was at first reported that Lincoln, Grant, Seward, and Stanton had all fallen. It seemed a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government, and in all the cities crowds gathered, and riots were imminent. In New York an excited throng gathered about the sub-treasury building on Wall street and the scenes of 1863 seemed about to be repeated. Suddenly, upon the balcony appeared a man of commanding presence and with bared head, beckoning to the swaying mass. Faces of excited men looking for a leader were turned toward him, and the roar of voices was for a moment hushed, as they listened. It was James A. Garfield. He chanced to be in the city and had been pushed forward by others in the hope that he might say something to allay the excitement.

What he said must have been unpremeditated, but in impassioned eloquence, it has rarely, if ever, been equalled. It was only this, but, uttered in tones that reached the very outskirts of the crowd, it stilled the mob, and prevented a bloody riot: "Fellow citizens; clouds and darkness are around Him. His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds. Justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne. Mercy and truth shall go before His face. Fellow citizens, God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives."

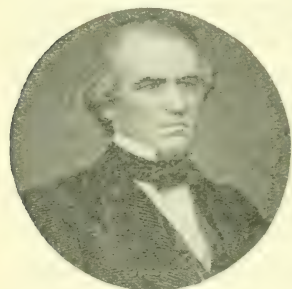
That great throng heard, looked in each other's faces and dispersed. The voice of a master had spoken. For days the nation was paralyzed with grief. The drama of a grand but pathetic life had closed in

tragedy, and the name of Abraham Lincoln had become immortal.

Disbanding the armies.—Soon was witnessed the great miracle of the war,—the mustering out of a million soldiers, and their quiet absorption into the ranks of the people.

New York welcomed her returning regiments in royal fashion, and soon “the faded coat of army blue” came to be a badge of honor over all the State.

New York had furnished for the war 473,443 men and had disbursed 35 millions in bounties, besides the cost of equipments.



ANDREW JOHNSON. 1808-1875
PRESIDENT. 1865-69

Many of these men never returned, while of those mustered out thousands were disabled and could not participate in the active pursuits of life. The loss to the State in men is estimated as follows:

Killed in action.....	12,976
Died of wounds.....	7,235
Died of disease.....	27,855
Died in prison.....	5,736
Total loss.....	53,802

To this list must be added the large number who reached home from the hospitals and prisons, but died within a year,—estimated by the pension office to be 4,000. This brings the grand total of New York's contribution of her sons up to 57,802. In money,

New York had given \$152,448,632 to assist in carrying on the war*.

SUMMARY

1. Union League club.
2. New York in second Lincoln campaign.
3. Soldiers' votes.
4. Closing year; the surrender; scenes.
5. Death of Lincoln; effect on soldiers.
6. Garfield in Wall street, 1865.
7. Return of New York troops.
8. Losses.

*See "New York in the war of the Rebellion"; also "Honors of the Empire State in the War" by Thomas S. Townsend.

Each of New York's four signers of the Declaration of Independence was, in the civil war, represented by a lineal descendant in the union army. General William Floyd by Captain John Gelston Floyd of the 145th New York; Lewis Morris by Colonel Lewis O. Morris of the 7th heavy artillery, killed at Coal Harbor; Francis Lewis by Lieutenant Manning Livingston of the regular army, killed at Gettysburg (Lieutenant Livingston was a grandson of Robert R. Livingston); Philip Livingston by Captain Stephen Van Rensselaer Cruger, and also by Lieutenant Killian Van Rensselaer of the 39th New York.

PERIOD XI

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF PROGRESS

1865-1900

CHAPTER LIII

NEW YORK AFTER THE WAR

Recuperation.—The civil war had taxed the resources of the State to their utmost, and its population had decreased nearly 50,000. The recuperation was marvellous. New industries were opened. Manufactories sprang up as by magic. That steadfast part of her population which had never wavered in the darkest hour of the rebellion plunged eagerly into every industrial pursuit that presented itself. Railroads were built, the canals were improved, and new machinery was introduced into manufactures and agriculture. Our merchant marine had been driven from the seas by confederate cruisers, but new steamship lines were opened and commerce revived. The school fund was increased and the schools were made free. Money was abundant and prices ranged high as a result of the inflation of the currency. Shrewd financiers then paid their debts and hoarded all surplus funds, knowing they would soon be redeemed at par. Reckless speculators plunged into debt, made purchases at inflation prices, and in the inevitable shrinkage that followed, were caught in the undertow of financial contraction.

The Fenian raid.—In 1866 an invasion of Canada was planned in New York city by the Fenians—an Irish-American organization. They shipped arms to various points on the northern frontier where, apparently, they expected them to be seized, while the real attack was made on Fort Erie.

A force of 1,200 Fenians crossed the Niagara river, June 1, and after a sharp fight with Canadian troops, seized Fort Erie. They held the place one day and then withdrew. They expected their countrymen to rally to their support, but were disappointed. Two of the prisoners taken were sentenced to death, but were saved through the good offices of the United States government.

State election.—In November, 1866, Governor Fenton was re-elected with little opposition.

The constitutional convention of 1867.—the delegates to this convention, elected in 1866, met June 4, 1867, and adjourned Feb. 28, 1868. William A. Wheeler, afterwards vice-president of the United States, was chairman.

The constitution which this convention drafted was rejected by the people, with the exception of one article relating to the court of appeals. This provided for a three years' commission of appeals, and gave the legislature power to fix departments for the supreme court. The State legislature in this year (1867) adopted the 14th amendment to the constitution of the United States.

General Grant elected president, John T. Hoffman governor, 1868.—Ex-Governor Seymour of

New York became the democratic candidate for the presidency against General Grant. The memories of



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT, 1822-1885
PRESIDENT, 1869-77

the war were still vivid, and Grant had become the soldiers' idol. Mr. Seymour suffered an overwhelming defeat, but in the State the democratic candidate for governor was elected by nearly 28,000 majority.

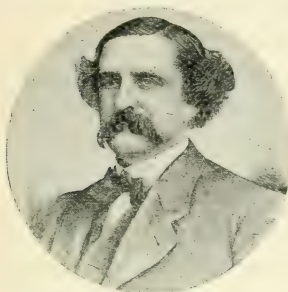
This striking fact led to serious inquiry as to the conduct of elections in New York city. Ex-Governor Seymour now retired to private life. A natural student, he gave himself thereafter to the study of the history, topography, and resources of the State.

The errors of his life, if they were errors, were in the realm of politics. He undoubtedly failed to grasp the new political questions that arose, and was too honest to seek preferment by posing as an advocate of measures which he did not approve. In private life, few citizens of our State have been more universally loved. At his death, which occurred Feb. 12, 1886, men without distinction of political party united in paying honor to his memory.

The Tweed ring.—During the years 1863-1871, the city of New York, and to a great extent the State as well, came under the control of a combination known as the "Tweed ring". Its chief was William Marcy Tweed, a man of Scotch ancestry, who had entered New York politics in 1850. By his shrewd

but unscrupulous character he had advanced himself to the position of grand sachem of the Tammany society.

Here by a careful selection of his lieutenants he soon had the government of the city in his hands. John T. Hoffman, who had been mayor, was promoted to the governor's chair, and A. Oakey Hall was made mayor of New York. In a few years this "ring" had robbed the city of enormous sums (estimated at 20 millions) and its debt had been increased from 20 millions to more than 100 millions.



JOHN THOMPSON HOFFMAN.
1828-1888; GOVERNOR, 1869-72

To the New York Times and to Samuel J. Tilden the people of the city and State of New York owe a debt of gratitude for the final overthrow of this combination, which was accomplished in 1871.

Tweed, when confronted with the evidence of his crimes, blandly inquired, "What are you going to do about it?" and when asked what had become of the money stolen responded, "Gone where the woodbine twineth."

A part of the gang fled the country, and a part were imprisoned. Tweed was sent to prison but escaped. He fled to France, was arrested there, was returned to the United States, and died at last in Ludlow street jail, in the city of New York.

Adoption of the 15th amendment, 1869.—The 15th amendment to the national constitution was

adopted in 1869 by a strict party vote of 17 to 15 in the senate, and of 72 to 47 in the assembly, while Governor Hoffman indicated his attitude towards the measure by delaying to transmit to Washington the required notice of the action of the State, until called upon by the assistant secretary of state to do so.

Black Friday.—During the civil war gold had advanced in value until, at one period, it reached 225, when the paper promise of the nation to pay one dollar was worth but twenty-five cents. All duties on imports were payable in gold; hence there was a legitimate demand for that coin. As it fluctuated in value, a gambling business was carried on over its prospective rise or fall. On Friday, Sept. 24, 1869, gold stood at 162½. The previous day it had been quoted at 143½ and the advance was due to the efforts of “Jim” Fisk, Jay Gould, and others, to “corner” the gold market. These persons intended to force it up to 180, while they held nearly all the gold in New York except that in the sub-treasury, which was not for sale.

Merchants and importers who must have gold with which to pay duties, were, at that price, face to face with ruin, and the markets of the whole country went wild. When the price reached 163½ Secretary Boutwell telegraphed to the New York sub-treasury, “Sell four millions gold.” This broke the plans of the gamblers, for gold instantly dropped to 133.

Gould and company were the owners of 60 millions in gold which had cost them 96 millions in currency. The panic which followed affected the whole country. It lowered the price of produce on every farm in the United States. It ruined many merchants, and de-

preciated the price of our securities in all the markets of Europe.

The legislature of 1870.—The government of the State was now virtually in the hands of the Tweed ring. One of the first acts of the legislature was the adoption of a resolution withdrawing the assent of the State to the ratification of the 15th amendment to the national constitution. The only effect of this action was the doubtful satisfaction of putting the voters on record.

Governor Hoffman re-elected.—In the autumn of 1870, Governor Hoffman was re-elected, and the legislature was about evenly divided between the two parties. In 1871, as a result of the Tweed exposures, it was again changed, and became strongly republican in both senate and assembly.

In January, 1872, it impeached Judge Barnard* for his share in the Tweed frauds.

National and State elections, 1872.—The campaign of 1872 was a memorable one. A faction of the republican party broke away from that organization, and at Cincinnati nominated for president Horace Greeley, the veteran republican editor of the New York Tribune. The new party called themselves "liberal republi-



HORACE GREELEY. 1811-1872

* Not Judge Joseph Barnard of Poughkeepsie, but his brother, George C.

cans". When the democrats indorsed Mr. Greeley, his election was thought to be certain; but Grant was re-elected by a majority of 763,000. Even New York, the home of Mr. Greeley, gave General Grant a majority of 53,000, and elected General John A. Dix governor by a majority of 55,000.



JOHN ADAMS DIX, 1798-1879
GOVERNOR, 1873-74

Local option, 1873.—

Among the important measures which passed the legislature in this year was one giving "local option" to towns on the question of granting license for the sale of intoxicating liquors. The bill passed, but Governor Dix vetoed it. His objection as stated in his message was not to the principle but to the manner of the prohibition; by which, he explained, he meant that the act conferred on localities no power, except absolute prohibition. By the law, the traffic must be prohibited or left entirely unregulated. This he held was not, in effect, "local option".

An attempt to pass the bill over the veto failed. For his action in this matter, Governor Dix was severely censured by the temperance people of the State.

The civil rights bill, passed in 1873, provided that "no citizen of this State shall by reason of race, color or previous condition of servitude be excepted or excluded from the full and equal enjoyment of any accommodation, advantage, facility, etc., by owners or

lessees of any theatre or other place of amusement." Such a law would seem to be an effort to make men civil by legal enactment.

School and factory legislation.—In 1874, attendance on school was for the first time made compulsory in New York State, and a law was passed prohibiting the employment of children in factories except under conditions specified.

Samuel J. Tilden, governor.—In the campaign of 1874 there were three candidates for the office of governor. The republicans re-nominated Governor Dix; the prohibitionists nominated Ex-Governor Myron H. Clark; and the democrats put forward Samuel J. Tilden. The campaign was an animated one, resulting in the election of Mr. Tilden.



SAMUEL JONES TILDEN, 1814-1886
GOVERNOR, 1875-76

His high character and his distinguished service to the State in the Tweed affair gave promise of an honest and able administration.

Constitutional amendments.—Several important amendments to the State constitution were ratified at this election. Among them were the following: 1. Thirty days residence in an election district was required. 2. The property qualification for colored voters was finally removed. 3. A stringent regulation against bribery at elections was made. 4. The salary of members of the legislature was fixed at \$1,500. 5.

Regulations governing the passage of bills by the legislature were added. 6. The term of governor and lieutenant-governor was changed from two years to three, and their salaries made \$10,000 and \$5,000 respectively.

Legislative enactments, 1875.—In this year the chief matters acted upon by the legislature were with reference to the management of the canals, in which many reforms were made; the administration of savings banks; the punishment for bribery at elections, and the prevention of cruelty to children.

SUMMARY

1. Consequences of war; recuperation.
2. Financial troubles.
3. Fenian raid.
4. Constitutional convention.
5. New York's candidate for the presidency.
6. New York city elections.
7. Death of Horatio Seymour; his character.
8. The Tweed ring.
9. The 15th amendment.
10. Black Friday.
11. Governor Hoffman and the 15th amendment.
12. New York and the presidential campaign.
13. Civil rights bill; local option.
14. School and factory legislation.
15. Samuel J. Tilden, governor.
16. Constitutional amendments.

CHAPTER LIV

RECENT EVENTS, 1876-1883

The centennial year.—We have now reached a period which properly separates history from the current annals of our time. The year 1876 closed a century of American independence, 99 years of the history of New York as a State, and 88 years of the federal union.

The centennial year of national independence was celebrated at Philadelphia by an international exhibition. The State of New York made a worthy contribution from her vast treasures of art, manufactured articles, and natural products.

Statue of Lafayette.—In September, 1876, there was unveiled in Union Square, in the city of New York, a bronze statue of Lafayette, the work of Bartholdi. It was a gift from the government of France in recognition of the assistance given to the city of Paris by the citizens of New York during the Franco-Prussian war.

Ninety-nine years before, Lafayette had voluntarily come to this country and had given his services to the young republic. His memory is cherished in the heart of Americans as that of no other foreigner has ever been.

New York political parties, 1876.—In the fall elections New York had four candidates for the office

of governor. Lucius Robinson, democrat, received 519,831 votes; Edwin D. Morgan, republican, 489,371; William J. Gross, prohibitionist, 3,412; R. M. Griffin, greenback, 1,436. These figures illustrate the relative strength of the political parties of the State at that period. This election was the first under the new constitutional provision which made the governor's term of office three years.



LUCIUS ROBINSON, 1810-1890
GOVERNOR, 1877-79

Tilden-Hayes electoral count.—In the presiden-



RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES,
1822-1893; PRESIDENT, 1877-81



ROScoe CONKLING,
1829-1888

tial campaign of 1876 the democratic candidate was Governor Tilden of New York, while the republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. At this time Roscoe Conkling was the leading republican politician of New York. He had been elected to the United States senate in 1867, and had ably represented his State since that time. Like Clay and Webster and

Seward before him he had been ambitious to secure the presidency, and had entered the national republican convention of 1876 with a strong delegation in his favor. The nomination went to Mr. Hayes. The result of this election was so long in doubt, the final decision so widely commented upon and so frequently discredited, that many people still believe the presidency should have been given to New York's distinguished son, Samuel J. Tilden.

Constitutional amendments.—Two amendments to the State constitution were ratified in the election of 1876, providing for the appointment by the governor, with the consent of the senate, of a superintendent of public works, and a superintendent of State prisons.

The "State bounty debt" was created during the civil war, and by law was limited to 30 millions. It actually reached the sum of \$27,644,000. A sinking fund was provided, and the last of the debt came due April 7, 1877, all of which was paid except \$132,418, which was not presented.

A test vote.—An odd illustration of the working of politics occurred in the State republican convention of this year. George William Curtis introduced a resolution declaring President Hayes's title to the presidency "as good as George Washington's". Under the leadership of Roscoe Conkling the resolution was defeated by a vote of 295 to 105.



GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, 1824-1892

Legislative enactments.—The legislature of 1877 passed an act prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to boys under 14 years of age; also an act for the sale of three lateral canals—the Chenango extension, the Chemung, and the Genesee Valley.

This legislature also appropriated \$500,000 to continue work on the State capitol.

The civil damage act was in 1878 sustained by decision of the court of appeals affirming its constitutionality. It made the landlord liable for damages consequent upon the sale of liquors in buildings owned by him. The year 1878 was remarkable for the growth of the greenback party, their vote being increased to 75,173.

The new capitol.—In 1879 the legislature met for the first time in the new capitol. This had been begun in 1867, was to cost four millions, and to have been completed in six years. It had now been in process of construction twelve years; had cost 15 millions and was but little more than half completed. The commissioners estimated that \$4,200,000 would be required to complete the work.

Alonzo B. Cornell, governor, 1879.—In the election of this year Alonzo B. Cornell received a majority of 42,000 over Governor Robinson, re-nominated. There were three other candidates in the field,—John Kelly, independent democratic; Harris Lewis, national; and Prof. John W. Mears, prohibition. Mr. Kelly was the candidate of a faction



ALONZO B. CORNELL, 1832-18—
GOVERNOR, 1880-83

which withdrew from the democratic convention as opponents of Governor Robinson. He received 77,566 democratic votes, showing on how narrow a margin elections in New York are secured.

Stalwarts and half-breeds, 1880.—As the time for holding the national conventions approached, there was developed a strong tendency to place General Grant in nomination for a third term. This led to controversy in New York. Those who favored General Grant's nomination were called "stalwarts", and



JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD,
1831-1881; PRESIDENT, 1881



CHESTER ALLAN ARTHUR, 1830-1886
PRESIDENT, 1881-85

those of the opposition "half-breeds". New York's delegation was divided, and after the election of Garfield to the presidency, he found himself seriously at variance with some of the political leaders of the State. Chester A. Arthur of New York was elected vice-president.

The Conkling-Platt resignation, 1881.—New York was now represented in the United States senate by two able men,—Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt. President Garfield sent to the senate the name

of William H. Robertson to be collector of the port of New York. Vice-President Arthur, Postmaster-General James, and the two senators, all New York men, protested.

This protest not being heeded, Conkling and Platt sent their resignations to Governor Cornell. It was the duty of the legislature, then in session, to fill the vacancies, and the two senators had taken this course as an appeal to the State for a vindication of their conduct. It soon became evident that their re-election would not be without violent opposition. The controversy on the republican side of the legislature was extremely acrimonious, and has become historic as a test of the question whether the senators of a State shall control the presidential appointments in their State.

The democrats, naturally not interested in the return of the republicans, placed in nomination candidates of their own. After 48 ballots, lasting from May 31 to July 17, Warner Miller was chosen to succeed Mr. Platt, and Elbridge G. Lapham to succeed Mr. Conkling.

Chester A. Arthur, president.—On the death of President Garfield, September 19, 1881, Mr. Arthur succeeded to the presidency, thus making New York again prominent in national affairs.

Free canals.—The legislature of 1881 voted to submit to the people at the next election an amendment to the constitution abolishing tolls on all the State canals. The amendment was carried, and the canals became free in 1883.

Cleopatra's needle.—In January, 1881, the Khedive of Egypt presented to the United States the re-

markable obelisk known as "Cleopatra's needle". It was brought over at the expense of Mr. William H. Vanderbilt, and now stands in Central park*.

A democratic governor.—The animosities of the



GROVER CLEVELAND, 1837—
GOVERNOR, 1883-85
PRESIDENT, 1885-89; 1893-97

preceding year had caused a division in the republican party. As a consequence Judge Charles J. Folger, a man of spotless personal character and of excellent ability, an ex-secretary of the United States treasury, was rejected at the polls because of his supposed connection with the "Conkling-Platt" affair.

This placed in the governor's chair a man then little known, but who has since become one of the most conspicuous figures in American politics. This was Grover Cleveland, then sheriff of Erie county. When his nomination was announced, men but a hundred miles from Buffalo asked, "Who is he?" His career has been a most remarkable one—an example of "American ways" which Europeans cannot understand. Like Lincoln, he is a man of the people; almost as silent as Grant, with a broad comprehension of national affairs, united with a strong personality which made him able to lead rather than follow his party.

* This obelisk is a solid granite shaft 69½ feet high, and dates back to about 1600 B. C.

Political assessments.—The custom of taxing every employe of the State for the benefit of the party in power had grown into a system. It was practised openly, and no one dared refuse to pay. The legislature of 1883 passed a law absolutely prohibiting these assessments.

Civil service reform.—When the old council of appointment was abolished it was supposed that thereafter merit would have the chief weight in the selection of candidates for civil offices. This had not proved to be the case. Its power to reward and punish had come to be the chief reliance of each party by which to secure or retain the government of the State. With each change in the administration there was expected to be a complete overturning in all the offices filled by appointment.

The legislature of 1883 passed the first civil service reform law, which promptly received the signature of Governor Cleveland and with some amendments remains in force to-day.

The Niagara reservation.—One who visits Niagara at the present time can scarcely imagine the conditions which existed twenty years ago, when the tourist had difficulty in finding a spot from which he could without payment view the falls, and when all the beauty was marred by unsightly mills lining the banks of the river.

In 1883, a law was enacted providing a commission of five men who, serving without salary, were to make all the preliminary arrangements for securing a State reservation at Niagara, removing all obstructions and

making the American side forever free to all visitors*.

The Brooklyn bridge was begun in 1870. The plans and estimates were made by John A. Roebling, the chief engineer until his death in 1869, when he was succeeded by his son, Washington A. Roebling. The bridge was opened to the public May 24, 1883. It cost 15 millions. The total receipts for the year ending December 1, 1893 were \$1,590,140.

The Adirondack park.—To Ex-Governor Seymour our State is in a large measure indebted for its great forest reserve about the sources of the Hudson. He gave much time and money to a study of that region, and reported on the necessity of preserving its forests.

The legislature of 1883 took definite measures in that direction, but not until twelve years later, 1895, did the great Adirondack park become the property of the State. Lands have, at different times been purchased, until the State now owns more than two million acres in that region, at a cost exceeding a million dollars.

Evacuation day.—The 25th of November, 1883, being the 100th anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British, the event was celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, during which a bronze statue of Washington was unveiled on the steps of the sub-treasury building.

SUMMARY

1. Centennial celebration.
2. Political parties of 1876; Hayes-Tilden contest.
3. Constitutional amendments.

* The acquisition of the necessary titles cost the State nearly one and a half million dollars.

4. State bounty debt.
5. Sale of lateral canals.
6. Civil damage act.
7. New capitol.
8. " Stalwarts " and " half-breeds ".
9. Conkling-Platt resignation.
10. Free canals.
11. Mr. Cleveland governor; Cleopatra's needle.
12. Political assessments.
13. Civil service reform bill.
14. Niagara reservation.
15. Brooklyn bridge.
16. Adirondack park; evacuation day.

CHAPTER LV

RECENT EVENTS, 1884-1893

The presidential election of 1884.—The fall



JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE,
1830-1893



DAVID BENNETT HILL, 1843—
GOVERNOR, 1885-91

elections were anticipated with much interest, for Governor Cleveland had received the democratic nomination for the presidency, and against him the republicans had nominated James G. Blaine, a man very popular in New York. The result was close,—Mr. Cleveland carrying the State by only 1,149.

When the legislature convened in January, 1885, Mr. Cleveland resigned the office of governor, and Lieutenant-Governor Hill succeeded him.

Death of General Grant.—General Grant, by his character and distinguished services, was a citizen of no single State. It was fitting that the most prominent man of his times should spend his last days in the Empire State, and find his burial place on the

banks of the historic Hudson. He had made New York city his residence since 1881. There his shattered fortunes drove him to that literary work which was needed for a complete history of the war; there his rapidly failing health drew about him his old comrades in arms; thither came the great military chiefs of the confederacy also, to pay their last tribute of regard to a generous conqueror, and at Mt. McGregor when the last days of his life approached, to him was poured out the homage of a grateful nation.

Great in war, great in peace, unconquerable in death, Ulysses S. Grant breathed his last on July 23, 1885. His tomb like that at Mt. Vernon, and another at Springfield, will be a Mecca for loyal Americans while our government endures.

The statue of liberty, the gift of the people of France to the people of the United States, was in 1885 fittingly erected on Bedloe's Island in New York harbor, where the light from its torch may be the first to greet the stranger coming to our shores, and the last upon which the eye of the departing American shall rest*.

Soldiers and the civil service.—During 1886 an amendment to the civil service laws was passed, intended to give honorably discharged soldiers and sailors a preference over others in appointments. This law has been practically inoperative since its passage.

An act for the protection of our song-birds also became a law. This was followed in 1900 by a much more sweeping and stringent legal protection.

* This statue cost the people of France a million francs. The base built by New York cost \$300,000.

Legislative enactments.—The legislature of 1887 enacted laws for the purchase and care of the old historic “State house” at Kingston; for the collection and preservation of battle-flags; for the incorporation of “Young Men’s Christian associations”, and for the formation of building and loan associations.

National and State elections, 1888.—Again the election of president and a governor of New York occurred in the same year.



BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1833—
PRESIDENT, 1889-93

Mr. Cleveland was the candidate of his party for president, but was defeated by Benjamin Harrison. David B. Hill was re-elected governor of the State.

Prison reform.—In 1883 various labor organizations

of the State sent to the legislature their protest against the “contract system” then in operation in our State prisons.

The ground of their complaint was that the products of prisons were put into competition with free labor. A bill to abolish certain classes of contract labor was brought in, but failed of passage.

The whole question was submitted to the people at the next election, and they voted to abolish the system entirely as soon as existing contracts expired.

By 1888 many of the prisoners were idle, and Governor Hill called a special session of the legislature to consider the matter. An act was then passed forbidding the use of motive power in the prisons. In the

constitutional revision of 1894 it was provided that after January 1, 1897, all contract labor should cease, and the products of the prisons should be sold only to the various public institutions of the State.

The great blizzard.—In 1888 occurred the greatest snow storm that has ever visited our State. It was particularly severe in New York city. Rain began to fall March 11, and for forty-eight hours a north-east storm with strong winds and a heavy fall of snow prevailed.

Communication with the country was suspended, and many articles of food became scarce. Passengers on railroad trains within the city limits were held prisoners for 36 hours. A sad feature of the storm was the great loss of life from exposure*.

Arbor day.—The legislature of 1888 directed that the Friday following May 1 should be observed as “arbor day” in the schools of the State, the purpose being to encourage the planting and care of trees.

A centennial.—The centennial of Washington’s inauguration as first president of the United States was observed in the city of New York, April 29–30, 1889.

The great flood.—The year 1889 is memorable for the disastrous floods which occurred. New York suffered less than Pennsylvania, but the loss of life and property in the southern portions of the State was very great. Our State contributed \$500,000 to the Johnstown sufferers.

Enactments of 1890.—A difference between Gov-

* Ex-Senator Roscoe Conkling was one of the victims of this storm.

ernor Hill and the legislature left at the close of the session nearly 200 bills in his hands unsigned, but many important measures became laws. Among them were the following:

1. A law requiring weekly payments to factory hands.
2. The "corrupt practice law", requiring candidates to render an itemized account of all election expenses.
3. The "Saxon ballot reform law", providing a secret ballot, and preventing all electioneering at the polls.
4. The "personal registration law".

All these have done much to cleanse our State elections by preventing fraud and intimidation at the polls.

The State flower.—On arbor day, 1891, a vote was taken in 113 commissioner districts, 32 cities, 7 normal schools and two Indian reservations for a "State flower". The vote stood: for the rose, 294,816; for the golden-rod, 206,402. In the cities the vote for the two flowers was very nearly equal; in the country, it was three to one in favor of the rose.

Roswell P. Flower, governor.—At the November election of 1891 the democratic candidate, Mr. Flower, received 582,393 votes; J. Sloat Fassett, republican, 534,956; John W. Bruce, prohibition, 30,353.

The presidential campaign of 1892 was a quiet one. New York gave Mr. Cleveland a majority of 45,518.



ROSWELL P. FLOWER, 1835-1899
GOVERNOR, 1892-94

Columbus day, 1892.—The celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America was to have taken place in 1892, but it had been planned on a scale so magnificent that the necessary preparations could not be made, and it was postponed until 1893.

New York in the exposition of 1893.—New York had been one of the first cities to take active measures looking to this celebration; three others, St. Louis Chicago, and Washington, competed.

The real strife was between New York and Chicago, but a dispute in the New York legislature delayed the necessary action of that body, and congress decided that the exhibition should be held in Chicago. An act of the legislature, April 6, 1892, made available but \$300,000 for New York's share in the exhibit, and in January, 1893, a further appropriation of \$300,000 was made.

With these funds the board of managers set to work to make the exhibit of the Empire State one of which her citizens should not be ashamed. New York's disappointment and her success were both voiced in the first stanza of Mr. Joseph O'Connor's poem read on New York day:

“ It happens oftener than we deem
That we should do the good, unsought, unknown,
Of which we did not dream—
That from the good we aimed at we should swerve,
And in our dear delusion so subserve
God's purposes, as we defeat our own.”

SUMMARY

1. Elections of 1884.
2. Death of General Grant.

3. Statue of liberty.
4. Soldiers and civil service.
5. Prison reform; the great blizzard.
6. Arbor day.
7. Great flood.
8. Laws of 1890.
9. The State flower.
10. Columbus day.
11. New York in the exposition.

CHAPTER LVI

THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION OF 1894

Changes.—For the sixth time in the history of the State the constitution was to be revised. The convention met at Albany, May 8, and was in session until Sept. 29. The presiding officer was Joseph H. Choate of New York—later minister to England.

The following are the most important of the changes made:

1. State and municipal elections were separated, by making the former come in the even-numbered years; the latter in the odd-numbered years*.

2. Cities were classified. In the first-class were placed cities having a population of 250,000, or more; in the second-class those less than 250,000, but not less than 50,000; in the third class all others.

3. The judiciary of the State was re-organized.

4. The appropriation of State moneys to any institution of learning, wholly or in part under the control of any religious denomination was prohibited.

5. The use of voting machines was allowed.

6. The term of office of the governor, lieutenant-governor and the five elective State officers was again made two years.

* This applies only to Greater New York, Buffalo, Syracuse, Albany and Troy.

7. The legislature was directed to meet on the first Wednesday in January.

8. The senate was made to consist of 50 and the assembly of 150 members.

9. The University of the State of New York and its regents were incorporated in the constitution.

A brief summary of the growth of executive and legislative power in New York will not be out of place.

The governor.—At first the governor was also chief judge. This union of executive and judicial powers was the source of many of the controversies which finally culminated in open rebellion and revolution.

The “director-general” of the Dutch West India company had associated with him a council, but it could render no decisions which were binding on the governor. Under English rule the title of the chief executive was “captain-general”, and he held his office during the pleasure of the crown.

He was authorized to suspend members of his own council and to appoint others, not to exceed seven, in their places.

He could summon, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly, as he possessed the veto power over all acts of legislation.

Under the first constitution the governor was elected for three years, could call the legislature together in extra session at any time, and could prorogue it for a time not to exceed 60 days in any one year. He was a member of the council of appointment, and president of the council of revision. He was commander-in-chief of the militia and admiral of the navy. He could grant pardons except in cases of treason or

murder; in those he could suspend sentence until the next meeting of the legislature.

The constitution of 1821 changed the governor's term to two years, and established the present requirements of eligibility. The power to prorogue the legislature was now taken from him, and the power to grant pardon for murder was conferred.

The constitution of 1846 reduced the number of officers which the governor could appoint with the consent of the senate.

By the amendments of 1874 the governor's term was again extended to three years, and his salary was increased from \$4,000 to \$10,000; and he was allowed to veto specific items in a bill appropriating money.

The legislature.—The Indian war of 1641 was the direct cause of giving to the people of New Netherland a voice in the government. In August of that year Governor Kieft called together the masters and heads of families. These gave their "opinion" on the questions presented to them, and in accordance with an old Roman custom appointed "twelve men" to represent them thereafter. These gave too much advice, and in February of the succeeding year Kieft dismissed them.

In 1643 the governor's troubles had so increased that he again called on the people and asked them to elect "five or six persons" to consider matters which the governor and council should propose.

The people preferred to leave the selection to the governor, only asking for themselves the privilege of rejecting any undesirable nominations. Then the "eight men" were chosen and the certificate of their

election is still preserved. These eight were frequently called upon, and did not always agree with the opinions of the governor. It is worthy of notice that their chief differences were over questions of taxation.

With the administration of Governor Stuyvesant came the "nine men". The people elected 18 from whom he selected the "nine". They received their appointment in September, 1647. These "nine" soon differed with the governor, and in the contest were favored by the States-general; and Stuyvesant was obliged to surrender a part of the prerogatives he had assumed.

In November, 1653, the first "convention of delegates" in New Amsterdam met and considered the "condition" of the colony. Their opinions and findings were embodied in a memorial which they forwarded to the Amsterdam chamber of deputies. The history of the whole English period from 1664 to 1775 is one long record of the resistance of the people to arbitrary rule, and the changes in legislative methods were almost as frequent as the changes in the governor's office.

Under the Duke of York the governor and his council with the high sheriff and justices not only sat as a court of justice but also constituted a legislative body invested with the power of making, altering and abolishing laws, except such as referred to customs.

The first assembly was convened by Governor Dongan in 1683 and its first act was to formulate the celebrated "charter of liberties", which was annulled by James II in 1685.

In 1686 James abolished the general assembly also,

and placed all legislative powers in the hands of the governor and his council.

Under the kindlier rule of William and Mary, the assembly was re-established by Governor Sloughter in 1691, and the 1st assembly that convened thereafter re-enacted the old charter of liberties. Even now this was granting too much to the people; it was repealed in 1697, and an absolute veto power over all acts of the assembly given to the governor. In 1698 the governor dissolved the assembly for being "disloyal".

The 9th assembly was no more pliant, but freely criticised the governor, and stood for the rights of the people. The 10th was even more stubborn and called the governor to account for all his expenditures. The 11th charged that the levying of taxes without the consent of the people was illegal, and was dissolved for the act.

This struggle between the governor and the people continued until the accession of George I in 1714, when the new whig ministry conceded the right of the colonists to levy their own taxes.

Thereafter, to the revolution, the struggle continued over the amounts to be raised and the royal encroachments on other rights. Failure to secure these rights led first to resistance by the colonies, and then to retaliation on the part of England. This provoked revolution and the entire overthrow of English authority in the colony.

With revolution perished all the old forms of government, and new forms became necessary. In the formation of these, parties arose that divided the

people. These are often called the peace party, the party of action, the party of union.

The peace party would not press for further rights. The party for action would at once adopt retaliatory measures. The party of union would wait until united action with the other colonies could be agreed upon. From this rose the "committee of fifty-one" as a compromise measure. This committee urged concert of action and a general congress. This committee secured the first continental congress.

It was succeeded by a "committee of sixty" which was charged with the duty of carrying into effect the recommendations of congress.

For this purpose it issued a call for the election of delegates to a provincial congress which met in New York in May, 1775.

With the first act of war came the appointment of an executive committee of one hundred, which secured the election of delegates to New York's first provincial congress.

This congress passed the resolution which practically renounced all obligation to the English government. In 1776 it assumed the name "convention of representatives of the State of New York", and guided all the affairs of the colony until the adoption of the constitution in 1777.

SUMMARY

1. Constitutional revision of 1894.
2. Development of the power of the governor.
3. Development of the power of the legislature.
4. The twelve men, 1641.

5. The eight men, 1643.
6. The nine men, 1647.
7. The convention of delegates, 1653.
8. The first assembly, 1683.
9. The assemblies of 1691-1714.
10. The committee of fifty-one, 1774.
11. The committee of sixty, 1775.
12. The provincial congress, 1775.
13. The executive committee of one hundred, 1775.
14. The convention of representatives, 1776.
15. The legislature, 1777.

CHAPTER LVII

RECENT EVENTS, 1894-1898

The Lexow investigation.—So many complaints had been made against the police department of New York by the “society for the prevention of crime”, of which Rev. C. H. Parkhurst was president, that an investigation was ordered. This was conducted in 1894 by a legislative committee of which Mr. Clarence Lexow was chairman. The result was the indictment of many persons connected with the police department.

Electric power at Niagara.—In 1886 a charter had been granted to a company allowing the use of the falls for the generation of electricity. Work was begun in 1893. In 1894 an appeal was made to the constitutional committee of the State to restrict the further use of this power. It was refused on the ground that such a restriction would constitute a monopoly of that power to those companies already chartered.

Compulsory education, 1894.—Previous laws intended to compel the attendance of certain pupils on the public schools had failed to be effective for lack of sufficient penalties, a more stringent law was therefore passed by the legislature of 1894.

It placed private and parochial schools under the supervision of public school authorities in matters of attendance, and provided special attendance officers and ample penalties.

In the fall election of 1894 the people ratified the new constitution by a majority of 156,108, and elected as governor the republican candidate, Levi P. Morton, a former minister to France and vice-president of the United States.



LEVI PARSONS MORTON, 1824—
GOVERNOR, 1895-96

The legislative enactments of 1895 included a requirement that the United States flag be displayed on

all school buildings, when schools are in session; made the study of the effects of stimulants and narcotics compulsory in all schools; provided for the use of the blanket ballot, and for the submission to the people of a proposition to appropriate 9 millions to enlarge the Erie canal*.

Libraries in New York city.—A joint committee representing the Tilden trust fund, the Astor library, and the Lenox library agreed, Feb. 22, 1895, upon a plan for the consolidation of all these into one great public institution devoted to the free use of the people. The new library is known as “The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations”, and its building will be upon the site of the old reservoir, Fifth avenue and 42d street.

The Raines law.—The legislature was now strongly

* This act was approved by the people in November, 1895, by a majority of 343,770 votes. It has since given rise to much controversy.

republican, and in full accord with the governor, who did not veto a single bill. One important measure before it was the "Raines bill", intended both to regulate the traffic in intoxicating liquors and to provide for local option. The passage of this bill met with vigorous opposition, but it finally became a law and is still (1900) in operation.

Greater New York.—A second measure, and one which attracted the attention of the whole country, was the "Greater New York bill". This act, passed by the legislature of 1896, consolidated into one municipality New York city, the counties of Kings and Richmond, Long Island City, the towns of Newton, Flushing and Jamaica, and a part of the town of Hempstead.

A commission to inquire into the expediency of this consolidation had been appointed in 1890, and had brought in a bill in 1893. It was in 1895 submitted to the people of the cities and towns to be included with the result that all except two towns voted in its favor.

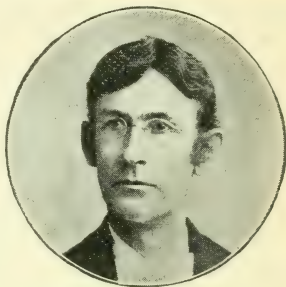
On April 12, 1897, a charter passed the legislature and received the signature of Governor Black. The new metropolis had an area of 359 square miles and a population of 3,500,000. By the terms of the act the consolidation took place January 1, 1898.

The presidential campaign of 1896, William McKinley elected.—Again a presidential election aroused the people. There were eight tickets in the field: republican, democratic, prohibition (regular), prohibition (national), socialist labor, democratic free silver, populist, silver party.

The chief issue, as stated, was between the gold



WILLIAM MCKINLEY, 1844—
PRESIDENT, 1897—



FRANK S. BLACK, 1853—
GOVERNOR, 1897–98

standard and the free coinage of silver. New York from her large commercial interests took the side of the gold standard, and gave a majority of 268,825 for William McKinley of Ohio.

National issues controlled all elections in the State, and along with a majority for the McKinley electoral ticket New York elected a republican governor, Frank S. Black of Troy.

In January, 1897, Thomas C. Platt was again elected to the United States senate, after an interval of 15 years.

Dedication of Grant's tomb.—The remains of the general had been removed on April 18, 1897, from their temporary resting place to the tomb in Riverside park, and on April 27, the 75th anniversary of General Grant's birth, his tomb was dedicated. New York city appropriated \$50,000 for expenses of the ceremonies.

President McKinley's first words in his brief address were, "A great life dedicated to the welfare of the nation here finds its earthly coronation."

Events of 1898.—The legislature which met in January passed a large number of local bills, transacted the usual and necessary State business and adjourned early.

Even while in session the members were evidently influenced by the feeling, then pervading the whole country, that war with Spain was among the possibilities.

They passed many bills relating to armories and the State militia, and appropriated large sums of money for military purposes; while they also provided generously for schools and State charities. Governor Black called the legislature together in extra session, July 11, to provide for manner, time and places for receiving the votes of such citizens of the State as should be in the field during the November election.

The county of Nassau was, in April, set off from Queens county. It is comprised within the limits of the towns of Hempstead, North Hempstead and Oyster Bay.

Election of Theodore Roosevelt, 1898.—The November election excited unusual interest, and resulted in the choice of the entire republican State ticket, with a republican majority in both branches of the legislature. Colonel Roosevelt's personal popularity, honestly won, undoubtedly aided in the general result. The old war spirit was abroad and hero worship again possessed the minds of the people.

New York in the Spanish war.—New York can claim no priority in the success of the war with Spain, but she may justly share in the honors of its brilliant events. Her people without any distinction of party loyally sustained President McKinley in all

his war measures, and took a reasonable pride in his firm military policy.

The march of events from the time the *Maine* entered Havana harbor, Jan. 24, to the settlement of the preliminary terms of peace, Nov. 28, were so rapid as to appear, in review, like the different scenes in a drama*.

New York's contribution to the war.—In response to the president's first call, New York sent two troops of cavalry, mounted, uniformed and fully equipped, and 12 regiments of infantry ready for the field. On receipt of the second call New York at once sent forward 3,772 men, who were placed in the regiments already formed. In June the State was asked to furnish an additional force of three batteries and three regiments—in all 4,186 men.

In addition to this land force the State furnished 851 men for the navy from her "naval militia". A large part of these went on board the "*Yankee*", a merchant vessel, converted into a man-of-war, as part of the "mosquito" fleet. "The *Yankee* was the first vessel, manned by naval militia, to be under fire, and the last ship to leave the scene of action at the Santiago battle of June 6 †." The following partial list of naval officers from New York is of interest: Rear-Admirals

* The student is likely to make the mistake of supposing that the wrecking of the *Maine* was the cause of the war. It was only one incident in a long controversy.

† See report of adjutant-general of New York for 1898.

Sampson, Norton, Sicard; Commanders Symonds, Gibson, Belknap, Lillie, Nichols, Brownson, Percy, Hanford, Craig; Commodore Howell; Captains Sigsbee, Philip, Cooper, Crowninshield, Ludlow, Shepard.

The cost to New York.—The total number of lives contributed for Cuban independence by New York, cannot now be told with any exactness. The money cost is substantially as follows:

For pay to officers and men.....	\$ 248,342.17
For uniforms, etc.....	264,278.55
For equipments.....	92,856.38
For camp expenses.....	127,858.71
For medical supplies.....	12,510.86
For ammunition and arms.....	9,072.62
For naval militia.....	21,472.09
For flags and colors.....	1,497.80
For miscellaneous expenses.....	172,069.78
	<hr/>
	\$949,958.96

From this sum there is claimed as a rebate

from the United States government... 380,796.56

Leaving total cost to the State.....\$ 569,162.40

The total amount of State appropriations

for military purposes during the year

was.....\$ 789,625.00

SUMMARY

1. Lexow investigation.
2. Electric power at Niagara.
3. Compulsory education.
4. New York city libraries.
5. The Raines law.
6. Greater New York.

7. New York and the gold standard.
8. Dedication of Grant's tomb.
9. Legislative action.
10. New York in the Cuban war.
11. The cost to New York.

CHAPTER LVIII

RECENT EVENTS, 1899-1900

Independent element.—In the political field there have been few quieter years in the history of the State than 1899. The usual result of an attempt to force extreme measures upon a great party had driven a large portion of the independent element from the democratic to the republican ranks, and the whole administration of the State government was in the hands of the republicans.

Chauncey M. Depew, republican, was elected to the United States senate to take the place of Edward Murphy, democrat.

Legislation.—The governor and legislature were in accord, and nearly every measure which passed the legislature received the governor's signature.

Laws were enacted which were intended still further to protect the food supply of our great cities.

Enlarged powers were conferred upon the governor for the protection of the elective franchise and for the punishment of crimes against the election laws.

The high license law was amended and made more stringent in its penalties.

Taxation.—The most important legislative measure of the year was with reference to taxation. When it is considered that besides the enormous sums raised by taxation for State purposes the people must meet other and often larger levies for county, municipal, and school purposes, the question how these taxes shall be

levied becomes one of the most important with which the legislature has to deal.

A large part of the property of the State, both real and personal, has always been beyond the reach of the tax-gatherer. Vast sums in the possession of churches and other ecclesiastical associations have never been taxed.

Other and still larger sums are in the possession of individuals who manage to secrete their wealth. Many millions are in the keeping of savings banks and other depositories into which the assessor never enters.

Besides these there are many valuable franchises held by different corporations which have escaped taxation under decisions of the court of appeals given in 1891 and 1897, by which it was held that only the tangible real and personal property of such corporations could be taxed.

A new franchise law known as the "Ford bill" passed both houses of the legislature near the close of the regular session, intended to remedy this defect. Some of its provisions were unsatisfactory to the governor. He therefore withheld his signature and called a special session to meet on May 22. At this extraordinary session the bill was amended, again passed by both houses and signed by the governor.

This law makes it the duty of the State assessors to assess every franchise in the State according to its value, even though it does not own a foot of real estate*.

* It was estimated that this law would yield about 17 millions in taxes, of which nearly 10 millions would be collected in New York city alone.

The legislature of 1900 was republican in both branches. It met Jan. 3 and adjourned April 6, yet it passed 776 laws, 409 of which were purely local, having no application to the State at large.

This growth of legislation is viewed with concern by many thoughtful men.

Appropriations.—Among the appropriations made were the following:

To the State department of public instruction, \$4,563,700.

To the regents of the university, \$740,540.

For the State exhibit in the Paris exposition, \$50,000.

For the statue of Lafayette, to be presented to the city of Paris by the United States, \$10,000.

For a monument to the memory of the martyrs who perished in the prison ships in New York harbor during the war of the revolution*, \$25,000.

For the care of Stony Point reservation, \$3,000.

Fort George reservation.—Within the year the State acquired a title to the lands which include the old battle-field of Lake George (1755) and Fort George, which is still in a fair state of preservation. This fort was built by Sir William Johnson in 1757, and was for many years an out-post for protection against French invasion.

The forest, fish and game law.—A comprehensive law for the preservation of our remaining forests, and fish and game was passed at this session. The act repeals most of the previous laws on these subjects,

*The monument is to be erected in Brooklyn, and the chief expense is to be borne by New York city.

and is a serious effort to save from destruction those forests of the State which still border our rivers and clothe our mountains.

The Palisades.—Just complaint has long been made against the constant encroachment upon the Palisades of the Hudson. The legislature of 1900 passed a law which creates a commission having power to locate a “Palisades interstate park”, and gives to this commission authority to purchase or condemn the necessary lands for the purpose of such park.

Compulsory education for Indian children.—For many years philanthropists have felt that something should be done for the improvement of the Indians on the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservation. It was reserved for the legislature of 1900 to pass a stringent compulsory education law for the children of these reservations.

It requires that every Indian child between the ages of six and sixteen shall be a regular attendant upon school during a considerable portion of the year. In this way it is intended ultimately to prepare them for full citizenship.

Colored children in public schools.—In 1894 a law was passed which permitted the school authorities of any incorporated city or village to establish separate schools for colored children. This act was repealed in 1900 and the following enacted in its place: “No person shall be refused admission into or be excluded from any public school in the State of New York on account of race or color.”

The canal enlargement.—The question of enlarge-

ment or ultimate abandonment of the State's remaining canals is still pressed for settlement. The opposition to enlarging and improving them comes from the same quarter as did the opposition to their original construction and the arguments are the same—with the addition of the active coöperation of the railroad interests against the enlargement.

The legislature went no further than to authorize the State engineer and surveyor to make the necessary surveys and estimates for a canal of such dimensions as shall carry and lock boats 150 feet in length, 25 feet in width, and of 10 feet draft. For expense of such surveys \$200,000 was appropriated*.

GREAT ENTERPRISES

The new Brooklyn bridge.—This structure, now under way, will be if not the handsomest, at least the largest and staunchest of the notable suspension bridges of the world.

Its dimensions are to be as follows: Total length 7,200 feet; suspended span 1,600 feet; extreme width 118 feet; height of the towers 310 feet.

New York rapid transit.—On March 24, 1900, the first spadeful of earth was removed for New York's great underground railway. This, when completed, will exceed in magnitude anything of the kind ever before undertaken. It is to be of four tracks, in two stories, two above and two below, will be $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles in total length, is to be completed in three years and will cost 35 millions.

* It is estimated that more than \$60,000,000 would be required to build such a canal.

The Hudson tunnel.—This great enterprise, undertaken in 1873, has been long delayed. After 4,077 feet of it had been completed work stopped and the entire property was sold for \$300,000, with a debt against it of \$4,000,000. The company which now owns the franchise expects to complete it within one year.

The total distance from Jersey City to the New York terminus at Fifteenth street is 5,690 feet. The tunnel is for the use of a double-tracked electric road—designed to carry both freight and passengers.

New York and the vice-presidency.—At the republican national convention held in Philadelphia, June 19–21, in spite of his very frankly expressed wishes to the contrary, Governor Roosevelt was unanimously nominated for the office of vice-president.

SUMMARY

1. Republican predominance at Albany.
2. Legislation of 1899.
3. Taxation of franchises.
4. Legislation of 1900.
5. Appropriations for 1900.
6. The Fort George reservation.
7. The palisades.
8. Education of Indian children.
9. Colored children admitted to all public schools.
10. Enlargement of the Erie canal.
11. Great enterprises under way.
12. Gov. Roosevelt nominated for vice-president.

CHAPTER LIX

EDUCATION IN NEW YORK

Under the Dutch.—The history of the schools of New York begins with the settlement of the State by the Dutch, who in their own country appreciated the importance of popular education.

Says Brodhead: “Neither the perils of war, nor the busy pursuit of gain, nor the excitement of political strife, ever caused them to neglect the education of their children.” As early as 1629, the Dutch West India company, in its charter enacted that the patroons and colonists should “in the speediest way possible find ways and means whereby they might supply a minister and a schoolmaster.”

With the Dutch, schools were *free*. They had no other idea of a school. But they were economical, and until the year 1633 the offices of minister and teacher were often united.

By the end of Stuyvesant’s administration there were in New Amsterdam three public schools, a dozen or more private schools, and one Latin school. The first schoolmaster of whom we have any knowledge was Adam Roelandsen, who taught from 1633 to 1639. He was succeeded by Jan Cornelissen, and he in turn by William Vestius*.

Of what was taught in those early Dutch schools we know little, but we find that the schoolmaster often

* A school was established in Brooklyn in 1661, in Flatbush in 1659, and in Albany in 1650.

combined teaching with some odd, outside occupation, and that he took in payment whatever his patrons could spare. Roelandsen, for example, did washing to eke out his salary, as we find that he brought action against one De Voocht for "washing his linen". De Voocht did not refuse to pay, but insisted that payment should not be made till the end of the year, and the court sustained him, holding the schoolmaster to the year's washing. We also know that Roelandsen was a carpenter, for he contracted to build a house "thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide and eight feet high", which house was to have an "entry three feet wide, two doors, a pantry, a bedstead*, a staircase and a mantel-piece"; for all of which he was to receive \$140.

After the English conquest, the Dutch were allowed to continue their schools, but received for their support no municipal aid. Governor Nicolls did very little to increase their number, as it was sufficient for him, he argued, to see that ministers were supported.

There was some excuse for this in the fact that the Dutch language was used entirely in business. An English teacher could not be placed in the Dutch schools. The English knew nothing of free schools and did not care to perpetuate the Dutch language in the colony.

Governor Nicolls did, however, in 1665, license one John Shute to open an English school; and in 1687 a free grammar school was also licensed, but there is no evidence that it was opened until 1704 when, under Governor Cornbury, it was taught by George Muirson.

* Bedsteads were often let into the wall of the house.

Governor Cornbury was active in the establishment of both churches and schools, chiefly, it is supposed, for the inculcation of the doctrines of the church of England.

In 1710, the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" established Trinity school in New York, and here forty pupils were taught free. The standard studies were then reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism of the English church.

Germ of Columbia university.—An act was passed in 1732 to "encourage a public school in New York city" for teaching Latin, Greek, and mathematics; this was the germ of Columbia university.

The idea of taxing the people for the support of schools was new to the English. To them it seemed proper to raise money for forts and guns and the payment of soldiers, but not for educational purposes.

In 1746 a lottery was established to raise £2,250

"for the encouragement of learning and the founding of a college". Later, this sum was increased to £3,443, and trustees were appointed to conduct the affairs of the proposed college. The Rev. Samuel Johnson was elected its first president* at a salary of £250, and the royal charter establishing King's



SAMUEL JOHNSON. 1696-1772

(Columbia) college bears date Oct. 31, 1754.

* The picture on page 192 is of the son of Samuel Johnson. He was the first president of Columbia

Regents of the University.—One of the first cares of the colonial legislature after the close of the revolution was the promotion of popular education. In May, 1784, King's college was re-chartered as Columbia college, and its management placed in the hands of a board called "regents of the University". This board was authorized to found schools and colleges in any part of the State.

In 1787 the college was placed under a board of trustees and the title of the old board was changed to "The regents of the University of the State of New York". It was authorized "to hold property to the amount of the annual income of 40,000 bushels of wheat", to incorporate academies and colleges, and to confer degrees. The first four chancellors were all governors—George Clinton, Jay, Lewis, and Tompkins—and the board has always included some of the most eminent citizens of the State. To this board of regents the State owes a great debt for the inception and guardianship of what is best in her school system.

Public schools.—In their annual report for 1793, the regents recommended the establishment of a system of public schools, and in 1795 in his message to the legislature, Governor Clinton urged the establishment of common schools throughout the State. In response to this appeal of the governor, the legislature on April 9 passed a law entitled, "An act for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining schools in the several cities and towns of the State in which the

college under that name, but the *third* president of what was at first called King's college.

children of the inhabitants of the State shall be instructed in the English language, or be taught English grammar, arithmetic, mathematics, and such other branches as are most useful and necessary to complete a good English education." The sum of \$50,000 a year for five years was appropriated for the support of such schools.

Here was the foundation of New York's system of public schools, conceived by the board of regents, recommended by New York's first governor, and founded by the legislature of the State*.

The carefully worded act of appropriation, the smallness of the sum granted, and its limitation to five years all show that this was considered an experiment.

The free school society of New York city was organized in 1805. It grew out of the "historical society". The first meeting was held at the house of John Murray, jr., in Pearl street.

The membership fee was fixed at eight dollars, and the subscription list, still preserved, is headed by the name of DeWitt Clinton with \$200.

A permanent foundation.—Not until the year 1812, did the legislature make permanent provision for a system of schools. Acts had been passed establishing more lotteries, and various schools and colleges had been founded by their aid; but in this year a law was passed appropriating \$50,000 annually thereafter, and authorizing each town to levy a tax equal to its share in this appropriation.

* The reports for the year 1798 show 1,352 schools in operation with an attendance of 59,660 pupils.

In 1814 it was found necessary to direct that each town should raise this amount under penalty of forfeiture of its share in the State appropriation. As New York city did not share in the benefits of the general act of 1812, a supplementary act was passed in 1813, admitting the city to the benefits of the common school fund.

The school fund.—How are schools supported? As the school system developed, three separate permanent funds were established, the incomes from which are still devoted to the support of the public schools of the State; and these have, in later years, been supplemented by a State tax and by local taxation in any district.

1. *The literature fund* came originally from the proceeds of the various lotteries established by legislative enactment in 1801, and has been increased from different sources since that time, chiefly by appropriations made by the legislature. This was managed by the regents until 1832, when it was transferred to the care of the State comptroller*.

2. *The common school fund* originated in 1805, when the legislature, at the suggestion of Governor Lewis, ordered that the proceeds from the sales of 500,000 acres of vacant lands should be set aside as a permanent school fund.

3. *The United States deposit fund* has already been explained on page 393.

The battle for free schools.—All this had been

* Judge Peck of Otsego county may be called the author of the literature fund.

done by the State, and yet the schools were not free. Two customs prevailed. One was to hire a "cheap" teacher and pay only what the district received from the State, in what is called "public money"; this provided a free school, but usually a poor one. The other plan was to use all the public money received, and make up the deficiency by what was called a "rate bill"; in other words, require each parent to pay an amount in proportion to the number of children he sent to school.

This did not make a free school, and it kept out of school the children of both the poor and of the penurious.

In 1849 the legislature passed a law abolishing the rate bill; but such an opposition developed that this law was repealed by the very next legislature (1850), and in place of the free school bill, there was substituted an appropriation of \$800,000. The next year this was changed, and the proceeds of a tax of three-fourths of a mill was substituted. But the people of New York were determined to have free schools, and in 1867 the odious rate bill was finally and forever abolished.

School supervision.—Gideon Hawley, an excellent organizer, was elected superintendent in 1814, and served until 1821, at a salary of \$300. His salary was in no way proportionate to his services, but the officious "council of appointment" wanted even that position and removed him to make a place for one of their dependents. The legislature was helpless, so far as Mr. Hawley was concerned, but at the end of sixty days it abolished the office and turned the schools over

to the secretary of state, in whose care they remained 33 years. Among men who filled this double office with especial acceptance may be named John A. Dix (1833-39, see page 448), afterward governor, whose "decisions" (1837) made what was practically the first Code of Public Instruction.

In 1854 the office of State superintendent was again established, and has since been maintained.

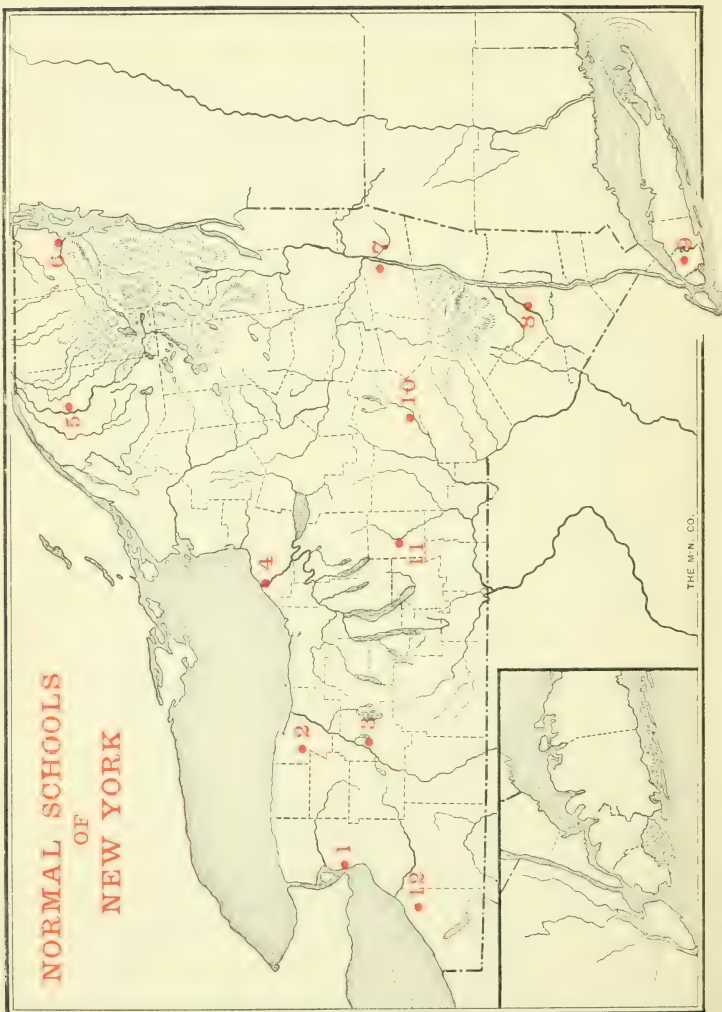
Among the many improvements introduced may be mentioned the establishment of normal schools and teachers' training classes, a system of grading and a course of study for common schools, and especially the system of uniform examinations.

The law of 1822 gave the right of appeal to the State superintendent in all questions arising under the school laws. This, one of the wisest of all our State laws, has since that date practically kept school matters out of courts of justice, and provided a speedy and equitable adjustment of all differences.

Town commissioners.—By the law of 1795, each town was to elect three or more commissioners, whose duty it was to take general charge of the schools, license teachers, and apportion school funds to the several districts. By the law of 1812, each town was required to elect three commissioners of common schools, whose duty it was to organize the town into districts and supervise as before, and also to elect one or more inspectors who licensed teachers and inspected schools.

The law of 1841 created the office of county superintendent. A law of 1843 abolished the offices of town

NORMAL SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK



commissioners and town inspectors, and created the office of town superintendent.

In 1847 the office of county superintendent was abolished, and district reports were made to the county clerks.

In 1856 the office of town superintendent was abolished and that of school commissioner was created. This still continues.

These changes have been experimental. The department of superintendence is now simple but effective, there being but three divisions: the trustee, or board of education; the school commissioner; and the State department of public instruction, with a State superintendent at its head.

Normal schools.—New York was the second State to make provision for the systematic training of teachers, by founding at Albany in 1844 the State normal school (now the Normal college). Eleven more schools have since been created.

Training classes for teachers.—In order to increase still further the efficiency of the public school, a system of "teachers training classes" was established. In these some of the advantages of professional training are placed within the reach of every teacher. The requirements for admission have been steadily raised and their efficiency increased.

There were, in 1898, 11,738 school districts in the State in which one or more teachers were employed. There were, in the same year, under the supervision of the regents, 797 high schools, academies, colleges, and universities. In the public schools of the State

1,203,199 pupils were taught by 34,363 teachers. In the year 1897, the State expended for the education of its children \$26,689,856.

SUMMARY

1. The Dutch and education.
2. Growth of schools under the Dutch.
3. The first schoolmasters and their pay.
4. Schools after English occupancy.
5. The first English schoolmaster, 1704.
6. Trinity church and school, 1710.
7. The first "school-law", 1732.
8. Lotteries and schools, 1746.
9. King's college, 1754.
10. Schools after the revolution.
11. The board of regents, 1787.
12. Governor Clinton and common schools, 1795.
13. Foundation of public schools; the board of regents; Governor Clinton; the legislature.
14. The free school society of 1805.
15. The permanent foundation, 1812 and 1814.
16. School funds; the three sources.
17. Battle for free schools, 1849-1867.
18. School supervision, 1814-1854.
19. Gideon Hawley.
20. Progress in supervision.
21. Town and county supervision.
22. Normal schools; the first; present numbers.
23. Regents of University; organization of.
24. Number of institutions and pupils, and expense of schools.

CHAPTER LX

FOUR COLONIAL FAMILIES

Four families.—The early history of New York was greatly influenced by four families, prominent not only in early colonial times but through the revolution and the struggles of the commonwealth in the succeeding period.

Often rivals, they were all steadfastly loyal to their State and nation, and by their ability, their wealth, and their high social position were able to render most important service.

These were the Schuylers, the Van Rensselaers, the Livingstons, and the Clintons.

The Schuylers.—The first Schuyler who became prominent was Colonel Peter Schuyler (page 132), the son of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, a German immigrant who settled on the estate of Patroon Van Rensselaer. Pieterse Schuyler reared a remarkable family. His wife was a daughter of a Van Schlechtenhorst. Their eldest daughter, Gertrude, married a Van Cortlandt; the second, Alida, a Livingston, and after his death a Van Rensselaer. The eldest son was Peter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany, the Colonel Peter Schuyler so influential with the Iroquois Indians.

The second son, Philip, settled in Albany and was influential in all the affairs of that frontier town.

The youngest son, John, became a soldier, and at

twenty-three was a captain in the American forces during the French and Indian war. He was the grandfather of General Philip Schuyler of revolutionary fame. (See pages 178, 264).

The Van Rensselaers.—The founder of “Rensselaerwick” was Killian Van Rensselaer, a diamond merchant of Amsterdam, and an influential director of the Dutch West India company. He never visited this country, but managed his vast estate through a commissary. He is described as an “educated, refined gentleman”. See page 52.



JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER
?-1674

On his death his sons removed to this country, his eldest son, Jeremias, being the first resident patroon. This patroon married a Van Cortlandt, and the family early became allied by marriage with both the Schuylers and the Livingstons. The Van Rensselaers brought to New York all their possessions, which were a permanent addition to the wealth of the colony. The early members of this family built elegant residences and lived in true baronial style.

Jeremias Van Rensselaer was a member of the “landtdag” of 1664. Later, he claimed the whole of Albany as a part of his possessions. It was to him that Governor Nicolls made the historic remark, “Do not grasp at too much authority. If you imagine that there is pleasure in authority, I wish that I could

serve your appetite, for, in it, I have found only trouble."



STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER
1764-1839

As time wore on, the Van Rensselaers ceased to maintain their baronial customs and identified themselves with all the interests of the colony. In the French and Indian war General Robert Van Rensselaer became prominent. Stephen Van Rensselaer was lieutenant-governor in 1795, was a regent of the University, and in the war of 1812 did good service at Niagara. In 1844, Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last patroon, broke up the great estate.

The name, always conspicuous, is still an honored one in the State.

The Livingstons of New York originated with Robert Livingston (see page 116), who came from Scotland about 1675. His ability was recognized by Governor Andros, who made him Indian commissioner at Albany. He is described as a "bold, adventurous man", and will be remembered, for his contest with poor Jacob Leisler. He married a Van Rensselaer and soon acquired an estate second only to that of the patroon. Sixteen Livingstons were prominent enough to be mentioned in a history of New York city. Of his grandsons, Philip (see page 216) represented New York in the colonial house of assembly 1758-1769, and signed the Declaration of Independ-

ence. His is one of the five figures usually grouped in the centre of the group of signers. Robert R. Livingston (see page 260), another grandson, was a member of the stamp act congress and of the revolutionary correspondence committee, and first chancellor



EDWARD LIVINGSTON, 1764-1836



BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON, 1757-1823

of the State. Edward, his brother, was a congressman and minister to France. A great grandson, Brockholst Livingston, served at Ticonderoga and in the campaign against Burgoyne, and was at his death a justice of the United States supreme court.

The Clintons.—The Clintons were less numerous but certainly not less influential than the families already mentioned. Charles Clinton, grandfather of Governor George and General James Clinton, came from England in 1729 and founded a settlement in Ulster county, which he called “Little Britain”. General James Clinton (see page 272), served his country faithfully during the entire revolutionary war, and was a member of the court before which Major André was tried.

The most conspicuous man in New York during

this period was probably general, afterward governor, George Clinton (see page 260). He was a member of the second continental congress, and entered the military service in 1775, serving until peace was declared. Elected first governor of the State in 1777, he still continued his military duties, leaving the army only when pressing civil affairs called him away from his command.

He was retained as governor for 18 years, was president of the State convention which ratified the national constitution (which he opposed), was re-elected governor in 1801, and in 1804 became vice-president.

DeWitt Clinton (see page 366), son of General James Clinton, served in the legislature from 1798 to 1802. From 1803 to 1814 he was mayor of New York city. He was governor of the State from 1817 to 1822 and again from 1824 to 1828, but will always be best known as "the father of the Erie canal", which his faith and enterprise carried through, from conception to completion.

In these families were represented Holland, Germany, England and Scotland, a fair example of that union of races which in New York made a people strong, proud, enterprising, lovers of freedom, but always submissive to righteous law.

CHAPTER LXI

DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS

Baron Steuben.—Among the titled soldiers of



BARON STEUBEN, 1730-1794

Europe who cast in their fortunes with the young republic, none will be held in more grateful remembrance than Frederick William Augustus, Baron Steuben. Steuben had seen much service in Europe, and had been aide-de-camp to Frederick the Great of Prussia. He came to this country in 1777, and was

immediately attached to the staff of General Washington as inspector-general of the army. In this position his abilities and his faithfulness to his chief soon made him of great service.

At the close of the war, Steuben having determined to make America his future home, the State of New York granted him a quarter of a township (16,000 acres) in the tract purchased of the Oneida Indians. Here he built for himself a log house, and here he spent the remainder of his days, dying November 28, 1794. Over his grave in the town of Steuben, Oneida county, a plain monument has since been erected. The national government gave him an annuity of \$2,500 during his life.

Having no family, he bequeathed a part of his estate to two of his former aids, and divided the remainder among his tenants.

Peter Cooper was both an inventor and a philanthropist. Born to severest poverty, at seventeen apprenticed to a coach-maker, his schooling was limited to half-days of attendance during one year.

Though successful in almost every undertaking of his life, he evinced the warmest sympathy for those who, like himself, had been denied the advantages of early education. He invented a machine for shearing cloth which was in use for many years, and built the first locomotive engine ever used in this country. He was extensively engaged in iron manufacture and in the production of glue.

His greatest benefaction was the building and endowment of Cooper Institute in New York city. To this he gave nearly one million dollars, and in his will devoted it by a deed of trust to the working classes of New York. The courses are free and furnish instruction in the applied sciences. To the original plan there was added, later, a school of design for women.

Gerrit Smith (see page 419) was born in this State in 1797, and during his long life was constantly contributing of his large fortune to a variety of benevolent objects. He was graduated from Hamilton college in the class of 1818 and subsequently studied law. He lectured much, often preached to his tenants, and served one term in congress. In his early life he became deeply impressed with the great wrong of human slavery, and contributed large sums to the American

colonization society. Later, he became a convert to abolition principles, and thereafter gave as bountifully to the American abolition society. At his death his entire estate went to various benevolent institutions. His wealth was largely in real estate, of which he inherited more than 200,000 acres. A large part of this he gave to his tenants in small farms.

Among these tenants, at one time, was John Brown of Ossawatimie (see page 419). At the time of Brown's Harpers Ferry raid, he had received some assistance from Gerrit Smith, who was ignorant of the plan of operations finally adopted*. The loss of life which finally resulted so disturbed Mr. Smith, that for a time his reason was affected.

His tastes were so simple, his manner so friendly, his life so upright, that when it was not safe, even in New York, for other men to give utterance to anti-slavery sentiments, Gerrit Smith spoke freely everywhere, even in congress. It is difficult, at this day, to appreciate the courage then required to champion that cause; one incident will illustrate it.

In October, 1835, Mr. Smith attended a meeting at Utica, N. Y., where it was proposed to organize an anti-slavery society. The meeting was broken up by a mob of "respectable citizens", and the office of a democratic newspaper that spoke a good word for the society was demolished†, whereupon Mr. Smith invited the delegates to his own house at Peterboro,

* Brown's first conception was that the slaves would leave their masters in large numbers, if they could be assured of a safe journey to Canada.

† Greeley's "American conflict".

Madison county, and there the organization was completed.

Martin Van Buren.—Martin Van Buren (see page 387) was in every sense a genuine New Yorker. Born at Kinderhook in 1782, he maintained his residence there until the day of his death, July 24, 1862.

It might truthfully be said that his life was spent in politics, for he became interested in public affairs when a mere boy, and while he lived never lost his keen interest in the great political game in which he had been a most expert player.

His career is almost without a parallel. At 24 he was elected to his first office,—surrogate of his county. At 30 he was a State senator; at 33 attorney-general of his State; at 39 a United States senator; at 46 governor; at 47 vice-president; at 49 minister to England; and at 54 president of the United States.

During many years he was the leader of the democratic party of his State. His private life was above reproach, and by his kindly, almost courtly manners he easily won the good will of his neighbors as well as of his political associates.

His ability to conciliate his opponents often created the impression that he was insincere, but the charge was hardly just. It was the natural outcome of the friendly spirit of the man. He received the flattery of his admirers and the fierce attacks of his political enemies with the same unfailing good humor.

While he may have been ambitious for political preferment, and may have advanced his own interests by every honorable means, he was not devoid of principle. He thoroughly disbelieved in the United States

bank, and risked his own popularity and promotion in support of President Jackson's measures against it.

Believing with most northern democrats of his time that slavery was recognized by the constitution, he insisted that it should not be disturbed where it existed; but, also believing it to be a wrong, he was unalterably opposed to its further extension.

Martin Van Buren has often been called "a northern man with southern principles", because he was so slow to disturb existing conditions. But in justice to him it should be remembered that opposition to slavery was a matter of slow growth until the demands of the south for its extension and protection roused resistance at the north. When this time came, Mr. Van Buren refused to follow the "hunkers" in their surrender to the slave-power and cast in his lot with the barn-burners. This, in 1848, made him logically the first candidate of the free soil party for the presidency.

It cannot be supposed that he expected to be elected, but he drew off enough votes to insure the defeat of Lewis Cass and his "hunker" following.

When this campaign was over, he retired to his home, where, unembittered by defeat, he passed the remainder of his days in quiet and comfort.

The student of Mr. Van Buren's character will find in it much to admire and emulate, but he can not fail to discover that the man was too careful of his own standing ever to venture far into the debatable ground of advanced thought or to be a successful leader in any great moral or political revolution.

Silas Wright.—Among the men particularly prominent in New York during "Jacksonian times", was

Silas Wright (see page 403). He was born in Massachusetts in 1795, but came to New York when only a boy, and entered political life in 1820. In this field his rise was rapid. He became State senator in 1823, member of congress in 1827, State comptroller in 1829, United States senator in 1833, and governor in 1844.

Mr. Wright's career proves that even in politics, a man may rise to prominence by sheer merit and by force of character, rather than by brilliancy of intellect.

A man of retiring habits, and unassuming manners, of unimpeachable integrity, but of most decided convictions, he seems rather to have impressed himself upon the people than to have sought their favors.

His most conspicuous trait as a politician was his close scrutiny of public expenditures. He was in everything a rigid economist, and as such had early opposed Mr. Clinton's plans for internal improvements. Unlike most of his associates he opposed Jackson's bank schemes, voted for a protective tariff, opposed the extension of slavery, and voted against the admission of Texas.

For these failures to follow his party he incurred the hostility of its leaders.

When President Polk offered him a seat in his cabinet, as secretary of the treasury, he declined the honor because he was not in sympathy with the president's policy.

He sympathized with the "anti-renters", favored the "commutation of rents" and the abolition of "fee-simple titles", but recommended the enforcement of the law against all agrarian outrages.

At the close of his term of service as governor, Mr. Wright retired to private life, carrying with him the strong personal regard of all who were so fortunate as to be admitted to the circle of his acquaintance.

Thurlow Weed, 1797-1882.—If there ever was a “self-made man”, Mr. Weed (see page 384) was one. He was born in 1797 of humble parentage and passed his early life in obscurity. At an age when Martin Van Buren was making campaign speeches, young Weed was cabin boy on a North River sloop. Later, he learned the printer’s trade at Catskill, N. Y., and in 1812 was a volunteer private soldier in a New York regiment where he served until the peace of 1815. He was then alone in the world, without money or friends, but with some habits, acquired in the army, which did not favor his immediate advancement. Fortunately he soon secured work as a journeyman printer. In this position he developed a taste for reading and then a reputation as a writer.

Removing to Rochester, he edited a small paper in the interest of Governor Clinton. Here his talents were recognized and in 1824 he was elected to the assembly from Monroe county.

When the “Morgan affair” (see page 384) came out in the papers, he warmly espoused the cause of the anti-masons.

In 1830 he founded the Albany Evening Journal in the interest of the anti-masonic party. The party never became more than a disturbing element in politics, but the man and the paper remained factors in State and national affairs long after “anti-masonry” had ceased to be mentioned in politics.

Few men have ever equalled Thurlow Weed in the power to write an editorial on almost any subject, especially any political subject, full of short, sharp, telling paragraphs that went straight to their mark.

Never until Horace Greeley founded the New York Tribune did Mr. Weed find a "foeman worthy of his steel". The occasional "open letters" which these two veterans addressed to each other in their respective journals were enjoyed by men of all parties.

In politics Mr. Weed was first a whig, and then, as the anti-slavery agitation came on, a republican; but he would not be bound by party ties, and no public man in any party failed to dread what Mr. Weed might say of his course if he went far afield from a straight path. After his early experience in the State legislature, he would accept no office from either party, but his reputation for straightforward, fearless truthfulness caused Mr. Lincoln to ask him, in 1861, to go on a private mission to Europe. He accepted this trust, but as soon as the duty was discharged returned to his place as a private citizen.

Millard Fillmore (see page 410) was born in the town of Summer Hill, N. Y., Jan. 7, 1800. His early education was very limited. At fifteen he was a bound apprentice to the draper's trade.

While thus engaged, he applied himself to reading and study with such profit that he attracted the attention of a lawyer, who, seeing his industry and evident ability, took him into his office as a student.

He was soon able, even while prosecuting his legal studies, to support himself by teaching. In his twenty-first year he removed to Buffalo where he com-

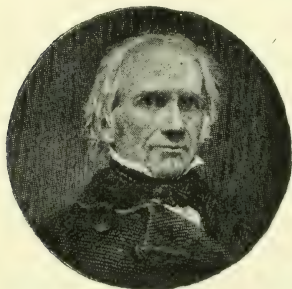
pleted his studies and was admitted to the bar, and there also he was in 1829 elected to the legislature.

While in the assembly, the remembrance of his own early struggles led him to advocate the repeal of the law allowing imprisonment for debt, and to him the State is in large measure indebted for the removal of that ancient wrong from our statute books.

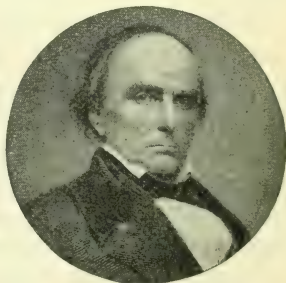
In 1832 he was elected to congress as a whig, serving two terms.

In 1847 he became comptroller of the State and in 1848 he was nominated for vice-president on the whig ticket with General Taylor.

By the early death of President Taylor he succeeded to the presidency, July, 1850. Here he had an opportunity to perform a great service for his country. In the next congress came up the odious "omnibus bill" and the "fugitive slave law". Mr. Fillmore could have withheld his signature, but he signed both bills, and the act took him to his political grave. In the course which he took, he had the support of Henry



HENRY CLAY, 1777-1852



DANIEL WEBSTER, 1782-1852

Clay and Daniel Webster; but his own State, while

never questioning the purity of his motives, repudiated the act.

Mr. Fillmore lacked those stern qualities which make a man able to do an unpopular act because it is right.

The author of a recent school history of the United States justifies Mr. Fillmore's act by quoting Mr. Lincoln's declaration, made when a candidate for the presidency, that, if elected, he should feel bound to support the fugitive slave law. The enactment of an unwise or unjust law, and its enforcement while it remains on the statute books, are two very different matters. Laws must be enforced and a president by his oath of office binds himself to their enforcement because they are laws. General Grant was right when he said, "I know of no way to make an unwise law so odious as to enforce it." But the president is entrusted with the veto power solely that he may, on occasion, rebuke the impudence of party leaders.

At the close of his term as president Mr. Fillmore visited Europe, and in 1856 accepted the nomination for the presidency from the "know-nothing" party, after which he resumed the practice of law in Buffalo.

Horace Greeley.—Horace Greeley (see page 447), the veteran editor of the New York Tribune, campaign speaker, essayist, author, and philosopher was personally known to more people than any other citizen of the State.

His careless but always characteristic dress, his quaint figure, his benevolent countenance everywhere attracted notice and comment, while his many addresses in almost or quite every county of the State

brought him before the people as no other man has ever been brought. He had hosts of admirers, and hosts of enemies, but all classes turned out to hear him speak. In his day, not to have heard Horace Greeley argued one's self a New Yorker unknown.

Mr. Greeley was born of Scotch-Irish parents on a small, rocky New Hampshire farm, Feb. 5, 1811. As the third of seven children in a family where intense poverty seemed their only birth-right, his opportunities for an education were of the most limited sort.

When he was but 15 their little home was sold for debt, and the family removed to Vermont. Here he attained the one strong desire of his boyish heart—an opportunity to learn the printer's trade in the office of a small weekly paper. But even this boon was not long continued to him.

Again the family moved; this time to Erie county, Pennsylvania. In that vicinity the lad worked for some years wherever he could find employment, meanwhile reading everything that came within his reach.

With a memory which retained almost perfectly whatever he read, he soon became known as the best-informed young man of every town in which he lived.

When he was twenty years of age he determined to try his fortunes in New York city. With only ten dollars in his pocket he started to traverse the State on foot, reaching the city with money still on hand. There he worked in various offices.

In 1833, in company with Francis Story, he started "The Morning Post", the first penny paper ever published. This was soon changed to "The New Yorker",

a paper which attracted much attention by its vigorous editorials, the work of Mr. Greeley.

While doing this editorial work, Mr. Greeley was also constantly contributing to other papers, and he soon became widely known as one of the most ready and trenchant writers in the country. His omnivorous reading and his remarkable memory for data of all sorts placed at his command a vast fund of available information.

By this means he was ready wherever he happened to be to write on a wide range of subjects as fluently and as accurately as though he had a library of reference at hand.

In 1841 he founded "The New York Tribune", through which he became still more widely known. His most prominent characteristic as a writer was his absolute fearlessness. He early espoused the anti-slavery cause, and no other paper did so much to educate the masses to a genuine hatred of the slave power as did the Tribune.

When the country came face to face with actual war, Mr. Greeley's kind heart relented, and he favored every effort, no matter how futile, for the preservation of peace. When the war actually began, he was impatient of every delay and criticised Mr. Lincoln so unsparingly that at last the president said of him, "Mr. Greeley is in favor of putting down the rebellion, but is opposed to all possible means of doing it."

When the long contest closed, he favored complete amnesty and lost friends by offering himself as bondsman for Jefferson Davis.

The worst enemy the democratic party ever had, he was endorsed by them when in 1872 he had been nominated for the presidency by the liberal republicans, in opposition to General Grant. He was defeated, of course, and never recovered from the disappointment.

Exhausted by the long canvas, and by the care of a sick wife to whom he was a most devoted husband, he died soon after the election, Nov. 29, 1872.

Mr. Greeley's best known writings are his "History of the Struggle for the Extension of Slavery", "The American Conflict", "Recollections of a Busy Life", and "What I know about Farming".

Samuel J. Tilden (see page 449) was born at New Lebanon, N. Y., in 1814. He early became a disciple of Martin Van Buren whose political career he greatly admired and whose fortunes he followed. He studied law with Benjamin F. Butler of New York (see page 409), and early became prominent in his profession, particularly as a corporation attorney. In this practice he soon acquired a fortune, and his residence at Gramercy Park became the resort of aspiring politicians who sought his advice.

From this fact he became known as "the Sage of Gramercy Park".

In his political forecasts he had the shrewdness of Van Buren. In his legislative career he was a follower of Silas Wright, a veritable "watch dog" over public expenditures—a cautious and able financier.

He had not the graceful manners which attracted to Mr. Seymour so large a circle of friends even from among his political opponents; but he possessed a faculty for organization that made the democratic party

of his day a solid, compact body, such as no other leader has been able to rival. He was not a general who could rally and lead men; he was a field marshal who could plan a campaign and select the leaders who could carry it through to success.

Two events gave him national prominence: the Tweed trials, and his contest with Mr. Hayes for the presidency. For the first, he has probably received more credit than was his due, for he did not enter the case until the New York Times had published the whole affair, and a public meeting of citizens had resolved to prosecute the "ring". Even the Times did nothing until a clerk in the comptroller's office had exposed the frauds, and there was good "copy" in sight.

The steps by which Mr. Tilden reached the presidential nomination were these: He had been a member of two constitutional conventions, those of 1846 and 1867, in which the accuracy of his legal knowledge had made him prominent, while in the State legislature in 1846 and 1872 he had rendered his party invaluable service. These made him the leader of the democracy of his State and only his services in the Tweed and "canal ring" cases were needed to bring him before the country and make him the logical candidate of his party for the presidency in 1876.

The result of this election was dangerously close. Several of the southern States were in a political condition that invited fraud, and each party accused the other of practising it. There is reason to fear that both charges were true. Certainly the colored population were disfranchised in many districts.

The accepted returns gave Mr. Tilden 4,284,885 votes, and Mr. Hayes 4,033,950. The contest was not decided until two days before the inauguration, when the commission appointed by congress decided that Mr. Hayes had received 185 electoral votes and Mr. Tilden 184.

The decision was never satisfactory to Mr. Tilden, nor to his party, but it seemed the only possible solution and the country, generally, accepted it. Mr. Tilden was never afterward a candidate for any office. He was suggested for the presidency in 1880, but declined to be a candidate. His death in 1886 revived the story of this historic contest, and exceptional honors were paid to his memory.

In his will he left large bequests to libraries and other institutions in which his name will be honored.

James Kent, whose "Commentaries" are among the most famous of legal books, was like his father and his grandfather a graduate of Yale, and was one of the founders of the Phi Beta Kappa society. He entered the law-office of Egbert Benson, and soon rose to eminence in the profession. He was professor of law in Columbia college, when in 1798



JAMES KENT, 1763-1847

he was appointed justice of the supreme court, and was from 1804 to 1814 chief justice, and from 1814 to 1823 chancellor. He then returned to Columbia, and

published his "Commentaries on American Law from 1826 to 1830, since then a recognized authority.

Reuben Hyde Walworth, last chancellor of the State, and called by Joseph Story the greatest equity jurist living, was the son of a revolutionary officer and himself a colonel in the war of 1812. He was in congress from 1821 to 1823, judge of the fourth district 1823 to 1828, and became chancellor in 1828 until the abolition of the court in 1848. Like Ben-



REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH,
1788-1876

tham in England, he simplified and reformed the laws of equity, and his manuscript volumes of decisions were the basis of many of the standard reports.

CHAPTER LXII

NEW YORK IN LITERATURE

Before the revolution.—Time was, when men said, “Who reads an American book?” The question is no longer asked. The whole world reads American books, for they are translated into every known tongue. New York does not claim primacy in literature, even in American literature, but she has had writers in every period of her history who have made lasting contributions to the world’s literature.

William Bradford, the first printer in New York (see pages 132, 152), came to New York city in 1693, and the first thing printed was a small folio volume of the laws of the colony. He issued the first newspaper Oct. 16, 1775, the *New York Gazette*, a weekly journal printed on a small half foolscap sheet. Zenger’s newspaper, the *New York Journal*, ap-



WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1663–1752

peared on Nov. 5, 1733, and attacked the government, which Bradford, as government printer, supported. Hence the famous libel suit. See page 152.

Colonial period.—In the Dutch colonial period, Dominie Megapolensis, Van der Donck, and De Vries wrote accounts of American affairs which were published and read, but of which copies are now very rare.

In the English colonial period, Governor Cadwallader Colden (see page 194) wrote much, and his “Letters and Memoirs” are the source of our most accurate knowledge of his times. He wrote of men and things

as he knew them during his long residence in New York. His estimate of the men of his time is usually just, though his views are sometimes colored by his loyalty to England.

Sir William Johnson (see page 174) at about the same time contributed a valuable account of the manners and customs of the Iroquois Indians, whom he knew as no other white man had ever known them.

In 1757 William Smith published his "History of the Province of New York", a book that is still much consulted.

William Livingston (1723-1790) a graduate of Yale college, was a prolific writer and the author of at least one poem that has survived the century and a half since its publication. It was entitled "Philosophic Solitude", and is in the style of Dryden.

Revolutionary period.—Lindley Murray (1745-1826) published his English Grammar in 1795. It marked an epoch in the study of the English language.



LINDLEY MURRAY, 1745-1826

The occasion begets the man, and the revolutionary period brought out many writers worthy of mention. Philip Freneau (1752-1832) was of Huguenot parentage.

His writings were generally controversial, and on political subjects, but he was also the author of many of the popular ballads of his time.

One poem, "The Wild Honeysuckle", is still quoted:

" Fair flower that doest so comely grow
Hid in this silent dull retreat."

William Dunlap (1766–1839) was the son of an Irish soldier, who came to this country with General Wolfe. He wrote comedies, and, best known of all, a “History of New York”, a most excellent book, still found in many libraries.

Washington Irving was the first author to make American literature known to the world. His literary work began while he was assisting his brother Peter to publish the “Morning Chronicle”. His Knickerbocker’s History of New York was the first work that attracted general attention. His later writings have been widely read and deservedly



WASHINGTON IRVING, 1783–1859

praised. They are distinctively American, and deal so largely in New York traditions as to give them a strong local coloring. They may properly be called the first American classics.

James Fenimore Cooper also found his themes largely in local traditions. His “Spy” was, until the recent publication of “Hugh Wynne”, the best tale of the revolution. It is full of the spirit of those stirring times, and its hero, Harvey Burch, had a real counterpart in Elijah Hunter, a New York soldier, who for more than



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, 1789–1852

four years served Washington in the character of a spy.

William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878, see page 394) York's most distinguished poet, "The Wordsworth of America", began his career in Massachusetts, as did the Carey sisters in Ohio, but all three early removed to New York and here found their inspiration and poured out their songs. Here, too, Lydia Maria Child found a larger field for her talents as essayist and correspondent.



ALICE CAREY, 1820-1871



FITZ-GREENE HALLECK, 1790-1867

Joseph Rodman Drake (1795-1820) and Fitz-Greene Halleck were the "Castor and Pollox" of American literature. At twenty-two Drake wrote "The Culprit Fay", a poem full of pictures in the Highlands of the Hudson. The strong friendship between these two men is touchingly portrayed in Halleck's poem, written soon after the early death of Drake, in which occur these perfect lines:

"Green be the turf above thee,
 Friend of my better days—
 None knew thee but to love thee,
 None named thee but to praise."

John R. Brodhead (1814–1873), born in Albany, was the great-grandson of an English captain who came to this country in the expedition against New Netherland in 1664. He wrote the best history of Colonial New York that has ever been produced. He searched the libraries of all Europe for his material and discovered several valuable manuscripts, the existence of which had been hitherto unknown. Those who since his time have written of those events have found him the highest authority. His history, in two volumes, coming down to 1691, is a monument alike to his talents and to his patient industry.

On two accounts, at least, Walt Whitman, will always

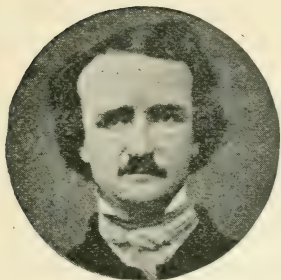


WALT WHITMAN, 1819–1892

deserve mention in any account of American writers: he served as a volunteer nurse in the hospitals about Washington during almost the entire period of the war, and he wrote "My Captain" in which he voiced the despairing grief of the nation over the death of President Lincoln

as no other writer has ever been able to do.

The New York movement.—Birds have their songs and their time for singing, but they build their nests and sing their sweetest notes where food is abundant. They migrate and take their songs with them. The poet may try his voice in solitude, but once assured of an audience, he dearly loves the associations of kindred spirits, and comfortable surroundings.



EDGAR ALLAN POE, 1809-1849



BAYARD TAYLOR, 1825-1878



RICHARD HENRY STODDARD, 1825—



EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN, 1833—



NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS, 1806-1877



WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, 1837—

New York city, as the centre of wealth has gradually attracted to itself the literary talent of the other States.

About the middle of this century a most remarkable literary migration took place. To New York came Edgar Allan Poe, Bayard Taylor, Richard Henry Stoddard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, George Henry Boker, Thomas Buchanan Read, Richard Watson Gilder, and Edgar Faucett. Later came William Dean Howells.

Besides these the State has always abounded in writers whose contributions to the press have had wide recognition and have exerted an influence in the cultivation of taste and the formation of public opinion. Among such may be counted George P. Morris, Nathaniel P. Willis, Mordecai Noah, Horace Greeley, James Gordon Bennett, James Watson Webb, Henry J. Raymond, James and Erastus Brooks, Richard Henry Dana, senior and junior, and many others.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE NEW YORK OF 1900

The Empire State.—While in size New York now ranks as the 23d State, in population, in wealth, in manufactures, and in commerce, she ranks first. Nowhere else in the history of the world has such a population been gathered, in the same time, on 49,000 square miles of territory, and nowhere else has any people developed an industry so varied, yet with no one branch dominant.

Whatever civilization needs New York will produce. Her farms are rarely devoted to the production of one staple. In her factories is spun the finest silk, and in her foundries is produced the most ponderous machinery.

To her history all nations have contributed. Its roots struck deep in the soil of early European immigration, and its branches have been spread to every wind under heaven.

Her peaceful farms only place in more vivid contrast the din of her great cities, and all her quiet fields descend to valleys through which may be seen the black trail of the locomotive bearing east and west the products of her industry.

The New Yorker toils, but he enjoys life. He loves to accumulate wealth, but he also loves to distribute it. He reaps the harvests of the world, and founds

an asylum for the unfortunate with the fruit of his labors. At evening, the merchant prince rushes from his place of business that he may have an hour of daylight with his family or among the roses in his garden; while in a thousand shaded parks, provided at public expense, the mechanic and his family make holiday when work is done.

An hour in any public library (and almost every village has one) will show a locomotive engineer or brakeman looking up a problem in mechanics or a factory hand deep in a question of economics; while every high-school or college commencement finds the sons of the day laborer and of the millionaire side by side. From the farm and the forge boys pass to the pulpit or to congress. In politics New Yorkers recognize the power of a boss, but the number of independent voters is so great that when any important issue is involved they can change the complexion of a national administration.

In religion, New York is catholic in the highest degree. From Van Twiller to Roosevelt, she would never endure a fettered conscience.

Any denomination may teach and preach and convert and build churches. It will be free, and all its property will be exempt from taxation; but on the public schools it must not lay its hand, and to its support must not go one dollar of the State's money.

In church and state New York has known many leaders; but no teacher, preacher, or statesman was ever so great that his doctrines went unchallenged.

An intelligent foreigner coming to our shores for the first time, if asked to give his impressions of New

York, would surely name, as among its most pleasing natural features, our magnificent bay, land-locked, large enough to contain the navies of the world; the "lordly Hudson" with its reflected mountains, the charm of its hundred lakes and rivers, its wide valleys and graceful, rolling table-lands, its delightful panoramas of forest and field, of farm and hamlet and town, which with every hour of travel greet the vision. From the salt marshes of the Atlantic coast to the gorge of Niagara there is variety, everywhere.

Were he asked what of man's work pleased him most he would point to the shipping at the wharves, the arch that joins the twin cities of the metropolis, the elevated railroads traversing streets of air, the subterranean rivers that bring the waters of a county to supply the needs of a city, the palatial steamers that crowd all the channels of communication, the railroads over which millions of passengers are annually carried in comfort and safety, the cities that have sprung up along the whole course of these, the comforts in the homes of the workingmen, the churches, schools, hospitals and asylums, where wealth finds its appropriate sphere and philanthropy its chosen field of labor.

Were he asked to state what in the institutions of New York seemed most worthy of commendation, he would surely mention the public school system, which places a college preparatory education within the reach of every child, rich or poor; the complete separation of church and state; the absolute equality of every man before the law, and the right to be defended by competent counsel though he have not a dollar in the world; an elective judiciary; a secret ballot.

The student who loves to trace to their sources the many tributary streams of historic sequence will perceive that the institutions of New York have to a very great degree been determined by the character of those who first settled the State.

To Holland we owe much. From her came the free school, the open church and religious toleration. To her we are indebted for the equal right of every citizen to share in the government and of every child to the same portion of the father's estate. From Holland came those ideas of the dignity of labor which have made it possible for the son of the poorest man to aspire to the highest position in the State.

From the early English settlers came a courage that has rendered the greatest enterprises always possible; a steadfast honesty that has made action to attend on duty; a love of exertion that has made competition an inspiration; a generosity that has made the unfortunate of every class the first care of the State.

To the steady stream of immigration from every old-world country New York has been indebted for an army of laborers who have built her railroads, dugged her canals, constructed her State and municipal buildings and made possible her rapid sanitary improvements; whose children, taken into the public schools and taught the English language, American history and literature, have become her defenders, often her political leaders, and always the staunch lovers and supporters of her institutions. To this cosmopolitan character of her population is due that even balance between political parties, which has so often driven

one from power and entrusted the government to the other.

The highest possibilities are always attended by the greatest dangers, the love of achievement has always been shadowed by the greed of gain; but he who in the history of our State has failed to discover a steady growth toward higher ideals, a purer faith, a broader charity, a deeper, stronger love for our peculiar institutions, has not read aright the lessons of the past. He who does not see opening before us as a people wide vistas of future patriotic labors, has received no inspiration from the lives of those heroes and sages who guided the early fortunes of the Empire State.

Conclusion.—For the present our historical studies must necessarily close with the year 1900.

The true student of history feels that he is a part of all the past, as all that has gone before has ministered to what now is. But these studies will be barren of results if they fail to give us a keener interest in the events of to-day as the basis of that which is to be.

It has often been said that the past fifty years have been the most remarkable in the history of the world. This is possibly true, but all signs point to a development quite as remarkable in that period upon which we are just entering.

No real student can have failed to observe how important, thus far, in shaping the history of our country has been the share of our own State. It is probable that its influence will not be less in the years to come. In the grave questions concerning territorial expansion now pressing for solution, the voice of New York will

command attention. If the great isthmian canal is built, New York enterprise and New York capital will predominate in it.

At home there were never before so many matters being brought forward for legislative action. What may be called "paternal legislation" is in the ascendant. Compulsory attendance on school, the nature and extent of the studies to be pursued there; the guardianship of public morals by curfew ordinances and prohibitory legislation; the rights of workingmen expressed in laws regulating hours of labor and time of payment of wages; efforts toward the reformation of the criminal classes and the guardianship of the unfortunate by all sorts of eleemosinary institutions; restrictions upon the public press in the direction of individual rights and public morals; demands for State aid toward all sorts of public improvements; the rights of municipal governments and their separation from general legislation; enforcement of sanitary provisions; the guardianship of fish and game in the interest of sportsmen; the preservation of forests; the establishment and care of public parks; the disposal of city sewage; the contamination of the water in our creeks, rivers, and lakes; the protection of public health; the military equipment of the State; all these and many more questions will be brought up for settlement. This is an age of law-making, but laws do not always reform abuses. Sometimes they fail of enforcement and proper reverence for law is lost.

In all these matters an intelligent study of history will furnish instructive examples, and often safe guidance.

CHAPTER LXIV

COUNTIES OF NEW YORK

In 1683 the general assembly of the province erected the following ten counties:

1. New York (named from the duke's own title), included Manhattan, Banning's, and the Baen Islands.

2. Westchester (from Chester in England), all the land east of Manhattan as far as the "government extends" and northward along the Hudson to the Highlands.

3. Dutchess (from the duke's wife) extended from Westchester to Albany and "eastward into the woods, twenty miles".

4. Orange (from the Prince of Orange) extended from the New Jersey boundary north to Ulster and "westward into the woods as far as Delaware river".

5. Albany (from the Scotch title) included all the territory on the east side of the Hudson "from Roelef Jansen's creek and on the west side from Saugerties to Saraaghtoga".

6. Ulster (from the duke's Irish earldom) included all the towns on the west side of the Hudson from the Highlands to Saugerties.

7. Richmond (from the Duke of Richmond) contained all Staten Island

8. Kings (in honor of King James) included Brooklyn, Bedford, Bushwick, Flatbush, New Utrecht, and Gravesend.

9. Queens (in honor of King James's wife) contained Newtown, Jamaica, Flushing, Hempstead, and Oyster Bay.

10. Suffolk (from an English county) included the remainder of Long Island.

In the succeeding years the following counties were organized:

11-12.	Montgomery, Washington.....	1772
13.	Columbia.....	1786
14.	Clinton.....	1788
15.	Ontario.....	1789
16-20.	Herkimer, Tioga, Otsego, Rensselaer, Saratoga.....	1791
21.	Onondaga.....	1794
22.	Schoharie.....	1795
23.	Steuben.....	1796
24.	Delaware.....	1797
25-27.	Chenango, Oneida, Rockland.....	1798
28-29.	Cayuga, Essex.....	1799
30.	Greene.....	1800
31-32.	Genesee, St. Lawrence.....	1802
33.	Seneca.....	1804
34-35.	Jefferson, Lewis.....	1805
36-39.	Allegany, Broome, Franklin, Madison.....	1806
40-43.	Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Cortland, Niagara.....	1808
44-45.	Schenectady, Sullivan.....	1809
46.	Putnam.....	1812
47.	Warren.....	1813
48-49.	Hamilton, Oswego.....	1816
50.	Tompkins.....	1817
51-53.	Erie, Livingston, Monroe.....	1821

54-55. Wayne, Yates.....	1823
56. Orleans.....	1824
57. Chemung... ..	1836
58. Fulton.....	1838
59. Wyoming.....	1841
60. Schuyler.....	1854
61. Nassau.....	1898

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The map on page 358 is from an old number of Harper's Magazine.

The maps of New York printed in two colors are all from the 171st edition of Northam's Civil Government.

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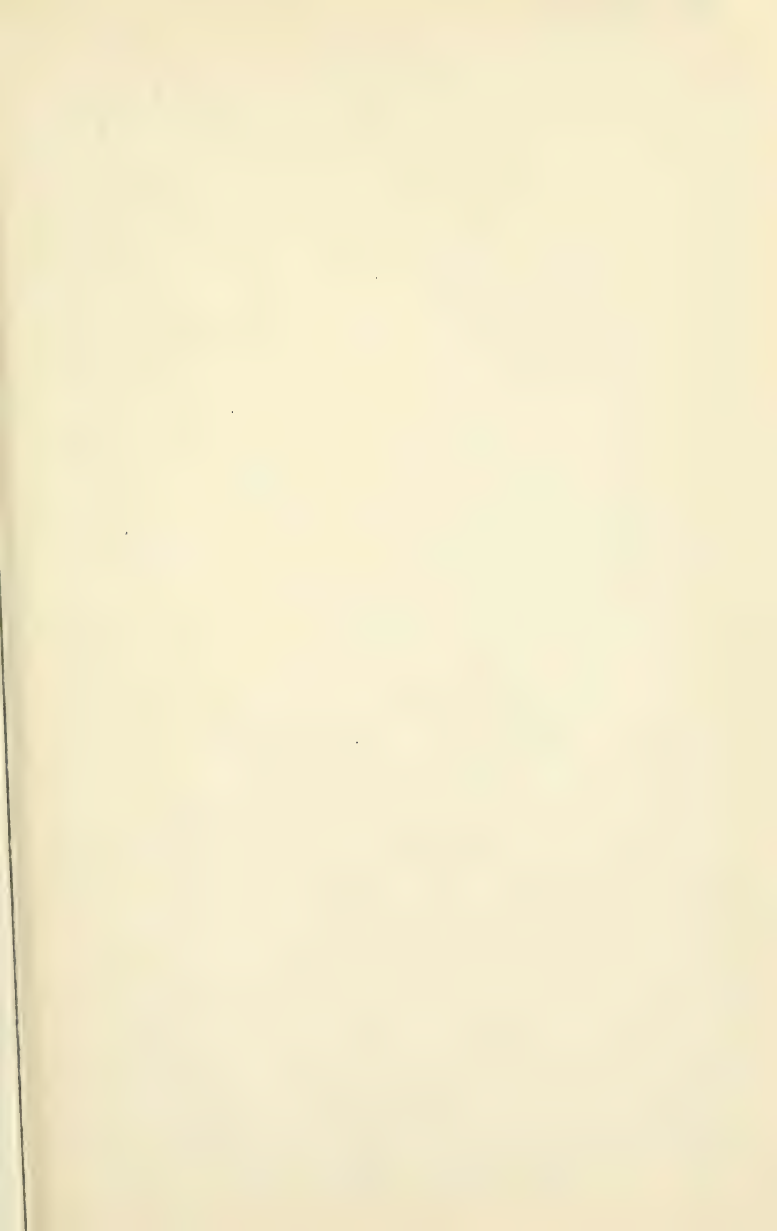
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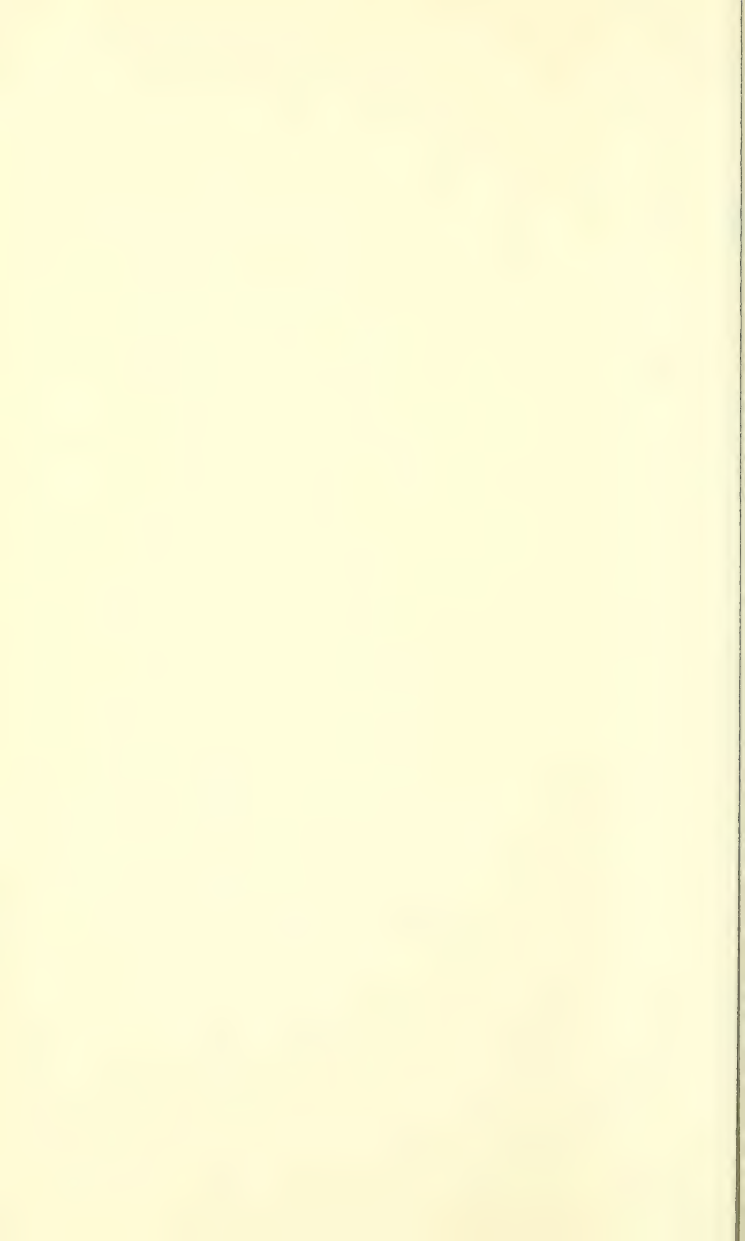
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